

THE
QUARTERLY
CHRISTIAN SPECTATOR.

VOLUME IX.—NUMBER III.

SEPTEMBER, 1837.

ART. I.—ON COMMUNION WITH THE SPIRIT.

FROM the day that God ceased to speak to the fathers by the prophets, and his beloved Son closed his mission of grace and ascended into heaven, the cause of God in the earth has been committed, more especially, to the Holy Spirit. He has come into the world to accompany the word and institutions of God with his invisible power; and, as a reforming and purifying Spirit, to carry forward the work of divine grace, till the day of Jesus Christ. He attends on the christian who seeks his aid, as a benevolent and holy friend, to foster and increase the graces of his heart, and to bless his efforts in the cause of God. He meets the sinner with friendly reproof and conviction, to lead him to repentance. The great object on which his mission of grace terminates, is, to secure, in all his willing subjects, holiness in all its branches. "The fruit of the Spirit is in all goodness, and righteousness, and truth,"—in all these moral qualities of the heart, in all their relations to God and fellow-beings, on all occasions which call for their exercise.

We sometimes hear christians speak of a higher and a lower standard of character in the church,—a standard for this age and a standard for that;—as if they were at liberty to form their own standards, or as if times and circumstances altered the standard of God himself. The truth is, there is but one

standard,—the standard which God has fixed,—the standard of truth, and righteousness, and goodness. Though christians may make higher attainments in these moral qualities at one age than at another; though the providence of God may open occasions before the church far more interesting at one period than at another, for their productive exercise; yet the standard remains the same,—that of holiness in all its branches. It is to this one and invariable standard, that the Spirit conforms, in conducting his operations of grace. And for christians to talk of standards varying and shifting with times and seasons and with their own feelings, is to take a low and partial view of the work of divine grace.

The design which we shall have more particularly in view in the following article, is, to insist on *the importance of directing all efforts in the cause of God, in full coincidence with the Spirit, with reference to the standard of true holiness in all its branches.*

The method which we shall take to unfold the subject, will be to show, that the Holy Spirit carries forward his work of grace with invariable reference to such a standard; to state what is requisite on our part to full concurrence with him in this work; and to present the importance of thus fully concurring with him in all our efforts.

I. We observe, then, in the *first* place, that the Holy Spirit carries forward his work of grace with invariable reference to the standard of true holiness in all its branches. This position will, we think, on the bare statement, commend itself as true, to the conscience of every one. Yet, in order that every doubt may be removed from the minds of our readers, and the grounds for their full and unqualified assent may appear clear, we will refer them to the following evidences of its truth.

1. Such a standard is, in the nature of things, supremely excellent, and alone worthy to be regarded by the Holy Spirit in his mission to the world.

If the Holy Spirit has come into the world on a mission of love and mercy, intending to do good to our fallen race, it is reasonable to believe, that he will have regard, in his work, to that which is supremely excellent,—that which concerns our highest welfare—that which truly conforms to the character of God and our wants; and that, however faint and feeble and imperfect may be the beginning of his work in any individual, he will not at all lower the object he has in view, and the end to which he would bring his work in all its subjects, from such a standard.

Now such a standard of supreme excellence is that of holiness, carried out into all its branches, extended into all its relations. This, in its own nature, is supremely excellent : for the moral qualities which it comprises are essential to the welfare of intelligent beings. They are such, in kind, as reign in the heart of God, and crown him with supreme blessedness ; and consequently, such only as conform us to his character and render us truly useful and happy in our relations to him and his kingdom.

The moral qualities embraced in this standard, reign in perfection in the heart of God our Creator. They are seen shining forth in his supreme and unsullied righteousness, benevolence, and veracity. And in the possession and exercise of these perfections, his infinite mind and heart are filled with overflowing blessedness. For, in the very nature of things, they are fountains of life and joy to an intelligent and moral being ; rendering his existence a blessing to himself and others, a source of his own and their complacent joys : and, existing in the infinite God, and filling his capacious spirit who inhabiteth eternity and immensity, he cannot but look on his own existence as a source of infinite blessing to himself, and unlimited blessing to his creation ; he cannot but take infinite complacence and satisfaction in himself, and desire that his moral creation should take supreme satisfaction in him, and by resemblance to him in the moral qualities of their character, should enter, in their measure, into the possession of his own joys.

These moral qualities, therefore, are the only sources of supreme blessedness to ourselves, in our relation to him and his kingdom. For these alone give us communion with God, in character and feeling : and if they dwell in our hearts, they lead us up to him, the immortal fountain ;—not only to take complacence in his fullness of glory, but to enlarge our own hearts more and more, from participation in his fullness, by communing with him on the broad field of his designs and works. Our righteousness, and goodness, and mercy, and truth, are thus supplied and enlarged from God's, and render us supremely blessed in him, our spiritual Father and Friend. These qualities, too, are the sources of supreme happiness to us, in our relations to his kingdom. For they lead us forth into that kingdom, as his moral children, who bear his image, and commend it to the complacence and imitation of all ; who foster, with filial care, the plans of benevolence and righteousness, which he has adopted for their welfare ; and we thus fill up

our existence with the highest possible happiness to ourselves and others.

What lower object, then, can the heart of infinite love dictate, than our entire conformity to this moral standard? Or what less than this, can have winged the Holy Spirit to our world on his mission of grace? Again:

2. This standard is inculcated every where throughout the word of God,—the grand means employed by the Holy Spirit in his work of grace.

The scriptures, it will not be denied, are the grand means which the Holy Spirit employs, in carrying forward his work of grace. The willing subjects of his power are, by that word of truth, begotten again, or introduced into the holy kingdom of God, as the spiritual children of his adoption; and by this same word are afterwards nourished and strengthened in their graces, and at last, completely sanctified for admission into God's heavenly kingdom.

But the word of God, which the Spirit employs as the grand means of his work of grace, inculcates no other standard than that of holiness in all its various branches. This will be apparent, if we consider the two grand parts into which that word is divided,—the law and the gospel. We observe, then, that this is the only standard inculcated in the law of God. The various scattered precepts of the law have all been summarily comprised, by the Savior himself, simply in these two: "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind, and with all thy strength, and thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." In this summary, we see the living principle of holiness shooting forth in all the branches of righteousness, and goodness, and mercy, and truth, and in their due relations to God and our fellow-creatures. And if from this summary we go to the ten commandments of the moral law, or wander through the various moral precepts which are scattered through the old testament, we shall find that they all contemplate one unvarying standard of righteousness, benevolence and truth; and that they take their specific shape and form either from the opposite modes of inculcation by precept and prohibition, or from the different relations contemplated of God or man, or from the distinct application made to given individuals or communities in their peculiar circumstances,—all which are mere non-essentials; and that under all these shapes, they contemplate the same grand moral qualities of the heart we have named, as lying at the basis of the standard they inculcate. But this is only to verify, by an ap-

peal to the facts, the truth of the Savior's summary. And having in our hands both his authoritative decision and the testimony of the facts in the case, we are doubly warranted in the belief and assertion, that the law of God inculcates the law of nature,—the law of supreme excellence,—holiness in all its branches.

This, too, is the only standard inculcated in the gospel. For on opening the new testament, our attention is at once arrested by the declaration of Christ, its great author, made at the beginning of his public ministry, in which he announces the grand design of his mission of grace: "I came not to destroy the law, but to fulfill." Nor, with this early and leading declaration from his lips, can we believe, that he ever afterwards lowered the object, or suffered it to be lowered by the apostles he employed, one jot or tittle from this elevated standard. For he is the Truth embodied in life; and though heaven and earth pass away, his word shall never pass away till all be fulfilled. But while he has thus set up the law of moral perfection, the law of God, as the great and immutable standard to which he conforms his whole dispensation of grace, he has done what the mere dispensation of law could never do, and what forms the distinctive character and glory of the gospel,—he has brought the means for elevating us from our sins to this high moral standard. To encourage our repentance, he meets us, even at the lowest state of debasement in sin, with the offer of a free pardon from our Creator, which, having purchased with his blood, he is fully empowered to confer. He sets before us, in his life, the law of God copied out in living and attractive qualities of heart, as the model to which he would have us aspire, and urges us to transfuse the same qualities into our own hearts, with the sweet power of a friend who has died for our pardon. And that we may not faint or be discouraged, in our endeavors to reach the high object of his redemption, through our own weakness and temptations, he assures us, that we may freely look at all times for sufficient assistance to him, who will ever be present with us with his Holy Spirit.

Now with this word in his hands, as the means of his power, what less can the Holy Spirit seek, in his work of grace, than that which is here attested to be sought by the Father and the Son, who send him forth on his mission,—our exaltation from sin to the moral purity and righteousness and love inculcated in the law of God and exemplified in the model of Christ? He has come into the world for the very purpose of employ-

ing his power to give efficacy to this word,—that the law of God, in its standard of holiness, though unable to save us, may show us our moral wants, and that the gospel, in the means it offers us to reach that standard, may encourage our efforts and hopes, and crown them with success. Once more :

3. The same standard is referred to in all the descriptions, which are given by the apostles, of the work of the Holy Spirit.

The Holy Spirit, in all ages of his mission,—a mission which is to continue to the second coming of Christ,—has the same object in view, in his work of grace. Consequently the descriptions given by the pen of apostles, of the works he wrought in their day, when he first entered on his mission, are the proper sources of evidence from which to learn the object he has in view now, and with respect to which all our efforts must be directed, in order to full and hearty concurrence.

In the descriptions which they have given, the same standard of holiness in all its branches is held up, as the leading object of all the works of grace the Spirit wrought in their day. The willing subjects of his power were, in that age, renewed in the spirit of their mind ; they put off the old man, which is corrupt ; they put on the new man, which is fashioned, after the pattern of God's moral perfections, in righteousness and true holiness. The fruit of his influence was manifest in every species of goodness, righteousness, and truth. It was love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, meekness, temperance,—the moral virtues and graces, against which there is no law. And the design was, by the cultivation of these, to present the subjects of them to the Father and Christ, holy, faultless, and unblamable in love, for admission into his heavenly kingdom. The law of God, too, was directly respected as the rule of excellence, and the standard to which they were to be conformed ; but because, through the flesh, it was weak and ineffectual by its bare authority and penalty, the pardoning power of the atonement of Christ was used to sustain in his subjects the purpose of obedience, that the righteousness of the law, *δικαίωμα*,—the preceptive righteousness,—might be fulfilled in them who walked not after the flesh but after the Spirit ; or that they might be advanced by his power to a state of spiritual and filial obedience. In contemplating also the model of moral excellence and glory presented to them in the character of Christ, they were gradually changed into the same image by the Spirit of the Lord ; they grew up into him who is the head, in all things : and the intention was, to present them at last perfect in Christ Jesus. Such are the varied

descriptions of the works of grace which the Spirit wrought in the days of the apostles. In them all, we see him intent on conforming the subjects of his grace to the high standard of holiness presented in the law of perfection, in the law of God, in the gospel of Christ.

These are the distinct grounds of evidence we have on the subject; and they are sufficiently plain and clear to warrant the unhesitating belief, that such is the object of the Holy Spirit on his mission; that in his grace, he is intent on writing the law of God,—the spirit of the law,—the qualities of love it requires,—on the hearts of his subjects,—on those living and immortal tablets, where they shall shine in their perfection and glory forever, to the joy of those who bear them, and to the honor and praise of God their author.

II. We will now state what is requisite in order to our fully concurring with the Spirit in his work of grace.

The Holy Spirit, as we have just seen, in carrying forward the work of divine grace on earth, is employing his power in applying the gospel of Christ, to elevate men to the perfect holiness required in the law of God. We readily see, therefore, that, in order to full concurrence, we, on our part, are to aim at the same elevated object, in the use of the same means, depending on the help of his power.

We are to aim at the same elevated object,—the holiness, in all its qualities and relations, which is required in the law of God. The culture of all those qualities of mind and heart,—those active and passive virtues of benevolence which adapt us to usefulness and happiness, in the broad field of our duties, is to form the chief object of our lives. If we attempt to establish in our hearts all the virtues of benevolence, by their practice in all the scenes of duty to God and our fellow-beings through which we pass, we may be assured that, so far, we have fellowship with the Holy Spirit,—that we, at least, fully concur with him in regard to the high object he has in view in his work of grace. But if, on the contrary, we take partial and limited views; if we think that the work of the Holy Spirit is restricted to some particular department, to the neglect of others, in the vast field of our duties, or to the establishment of some particular virtues of the heart, to the neglect of others, in the broad circle of those which the law of love requires; it is obvious, that, in every limitation we make, we so far descend from the high object the Holy Spirit has in view; we proportionally withdraw from concurrence and fellowship with him in our views of the object.

But, while having in view the same object, it is still further necessary, in order to full concurrence, that we employ the same means for reaching the object,—the gospel of Christ. The love of Jesus, in making an atonement for our sins, and in meeting us, even at the lowest degradation of our moral wants, with the opportunity of forgiveness and redemption, is the grand power which the Spirit of God uses for leading us up to the heights of moral purity and holiness in heaven. The law of God, indeed, sets before us the great object to be attained, and its intrinsic glory : it sets before us, also, in whatever stage we may be, our own moral wants and deficiencies, and our guilt ; but it helps us not to supply those wants and deficiencies, or procure the pardon of our guilt. It sends us for help to Jesus, the hope of Israel,—to his love, the power of the Spirit unto salvation. We have fellowship with the Spirit, therefore, when we look, in faith, to the love of Christ, as our true and only means of help ; when, in the assurance of the acceptance it gives to our imperfect services, and cherishing its impelling power over our affections, we go forward into the broad field of the divine service with a spirit of adoption,—with the filial freedom of sons, who are happy in the service and smiles of their Father in heaven, and in the aim and prospect to reach, through grace, the heights of perfection. But if we withdraw from this source of help ; if we attempt to establish our righteousness and fulfill our duties under the law alone ; if we try to fulfill our moral and religious duties, without catching the spirit of love from the example of Jesus our dying Savior and Friend, we withdraw from concurrence and fellowship with the Holy Spirit. We go to work under a code excellent in itself, but rigorous to the least deficiency ; which helps us not in our infirmities and imperfections, but goads us merely with wrath. We harbor a spirit of bondage, that renders every duty irksome to us, and that can never fill our hearts with the love and joy which are the fruits of the Spirit. We go to a law which, though “ordained for life” to the perfect and holy, we, in our imperfections and sins, find to be unto death. We still sigh for deliverance from this body of sin and death that cleaves to us, and look in vain for deliverance, except we turn to the victorious grace and love of our Lord Jesus Christ, through whom we have received the atonement and redemption.

But while, through faith in Christ the Deliverer, we aim at the high standard of holiness in the divine service, it is still further necessary, in order to full concurrence and fellowship

with the Spirit, that we actively depend on his power, by seeking his presence with us in humble fervent prayer. For if it is his office of grace to carry on the work of God in our souls, and to strengthen us with might in the inner man; it is not enough, while resorting to the means he employs and aiming at the object he seeks, to go forward in the work alone. This is to abandon our Sanctifier and Comforter;—the one whom Jesus has sent to help his people on their way to glory. In order, therefore, to full fellowship with him, we are to unite with him, personally, in the work; to seek his aid in all our endeavors; to bespeak his presence with us, as we enter into every part of the wide field of duty that is open before us: believing, that the Father is more ready to give the Holy Spirit to them that ask him, than earthly parents are to give good gifts to their children; that Christ has sent him, and that he has come, on his embassy of grace, for the very purpose of helping those who desire, in fellowship with him, to carry forward the great cause of redemption.

We see, then, what is requisite in order to full concurrence and fellowship with the Holy Spirit.

III. We will now, therefore, present the reasons which show the great importance of thus entering into full fellowship with him in all our efforts in the cause of God.

The grand reason, which comprises in it all other specific reasons which can be named, doubtless, is this: that the more fully we enter into fellowship with him, the more largely shall we share in his presence and blessing. For, if there are general rules, as we have seen, according to which he conducts his work of grace, and by the knowledge of which he gives us the opportunity of entering into rational and cordial fellowship with him; it is presumptuous to expect, that he will follow us into any and every departure we may make from the rules of fellowship, with equal blessings of his grace. That were to break up all rules, by gratuitous exceptions. That were to destroy all known grounds of fellowship; and to throw us on the wild sea of fanaticism, in which every wind and wave of our own passions would blasphemously be ascribed to his power.

But we choose to set forth this grand reason in more specific forms. We observe, therefore, more particularly: the *first* reason which we offer, to show the importance of entering into full fellowship with the Holy Spirit, is, that we shall thus be rendered *happy* in our efforts in the divine service. Why is it, that Christians are often found so backward in the divine

service, and enter upon it as a drudgery? Why is it, that they who have enlisted as the volunteers of Christ, must needs so often be dragged to their duty? Because they have turned aside from communion with the Holy Spirit. They are on their way without the Comforter. They are not impelled by the love of the Savior. They are not fired with the ardor of hope, to press toward the full glories of redemption. Their hearts are dried up and withered. And into the rich field of the divine service, where souls are trained for immortal purity and blessedness, they enter only with the vain attempt to silence the thunderings of conscience and wrath. They are rendered thus unhappy, if ever they had delightful fellowship with the Spirit, because they begun, somewhere, to depart from that fellowship, and went on increasing the distance. If they ceased, by the studies and meditations of faith, to keep their hearts filled with the glory of the object set before them, and with the love of Christ in opening, through his own blood, the new and living way to reach it; if they ceased in fervent cries of prayer to ask the presence of God with them on their way, to strengthen them with his might; no wonder, that if they still continue in the field of service, they continue there coerced by bare law,—constrained by conscience, not impelled by love,—without help and without hope, and consequently without joy. But what rich joy in the Holy Ghost shall we have, if we are in full fellowship with him on the active field of God's service! His presence cheers us with the testimonies of Christ's love, with the sweet peace of acceptance and filial freedom before our heavenly Father. Our work is now our pleasure. Our duty is now our happiness. The love of the Father, the grace of Christ, the indwelling and communing Spirit, are with us, to sweeten every toil and trial of our way; breathing sacred peace through our hearts, and inspiring the life-giving hope, that, in our course of duty, we shall attain the grand object set before us,—a full and everlasting conformity to the law of righteousness and love in the eternal kingdom of God our Creator and Father.

Another reason which we offer on the importance of entering into full fellowship with the Holy Spirit, is, that we shall thus be rendered *constant* in our efforts in the divine service. Why is it,—the question no doubt has often occurred to every mind,—that the efforts of christians should be so inconstant? that they should now rouse themselves into a feeling and effort that is extra and beyond the laws of nature, and then fall back into inaction? that religion should be so

periodical in backslidings and returns? that efforts should be so much in waves which expend their force and retire? If there are no laws in the kingdom of grace, as there are in the kingdom of nature, then we must submit; looking on all this irregularity and inconstancy, as the very orbits of fitfulness we are destined to fill. But it is not so. The laws of fellowship with the Holy Spirit are clear and fixed, and mark out to us a path as constant and as increasing in brightness, as that of the rising sun. There must be fault in christians. They err from the path of true and full fellowship. After all allowances made for the hypocritical and self-deceived in the church, and for all the changes in the thoughtlessness or seriousness of a surrounding world, there is still wandering from this path on the part of christians. The allurements of the present world may be the impulsive cause; but then the conditional cause, without which it would not take place,—which gives the world occasion to draw away to itself the hearts of any who really enter the divine service, must be some error or sin by which they wander from the path of true and full fellowship with the Holy Spirit. For when they wander from that fellowship, they fail of the joys and hopes of that service; their hearts grow languid in it, and on the approach of temptation, slide away from God, back and down to the joys of the world. If, for instance, the christian lowers the high object before him in the field of God's service; if he thinks, that edifying his brethren only, or that converting sinners only, or that ministering to the temporal wants of those around him only, or that any one office of benevolence to the exclusion of others, is that alone to which he is tied in success or in failure; or if in attending to any one, his efforts are extra and excessive, to the necessary neglect of others; no wonder that by the very laws of his nature, he should tire and grow faint:—no wonder, that the very powers of his being, which pant and cry out for the wide field of benevolence into which the Spirit would lead him, thus restrained and degraded, should imbibe the aversions of disgust and weariness:—no wonder, that his heart should cease to kindle and glow with expansive benevolence; and that he should darken, measurably, his views of the glory to which, in the field of service, the Lord would raise him, and lower his aspirations and hopes for the attainment. Or if, when at any time entering into any department of action in this field to perform any particular service, he should not, by meditations on a Savior's love, and asking the presence of the Comforter, prepare himself to perform it with filial love to God

and a sense of his acceptance ; no wonder, that he should feel less strength to go forward in his course, and be more open to temptations to swerve. Such causes as these, we are persuaded, lie at the basis of most of that inconstancy which is manifest in the feelings and efforts of individual christians and of the church. Nor can it rationally be expected, that the effect will cease, while the cause continues,—until they more fully concur with the Holy Spirit, and live in that full fellowship with him in every duty which shall render their services acceptable and well-pleasing, and fire their hearts with the hope of attaining that purity and holiness and full conformity to the precepts of righteousness, which shall fit them for heavenly glory. In this way their hearts will be strengthened to persevere through all external changes. They will be strong to endure hardness in their course, as good soldiers of Jesus Christ.

A *third* reason which we present our readers on the importance of full fellowship with the Holy Spirit, is, that we shall thus be rendered *fruitful* in our efforts in the divine service. The Spirit is carrying forward in the world a work of inestimable grace. Through the discipline of God's service on earth, he is infusing into the willing subjects of his power the same qualities of love that reigned in the heart of Christ. And if we have his presence with us on this field of labor, and enter into full fellowship, these qualities will thrive more in our hearts, and be more productive of their happy effects in others. We shall not only be more happy and constant in our services, but find our hearts more enlarged in them from the fountain of God's fullness. They will thrive more in our hearts. For, in this sweet communion, every labor, every trial, every suffering, every joy, will be expanding and filling our own hearts more with all those rich and happy graces which grow on the stock of love. Our services, too, will be rendered more productive of their happy effects in others. For, as our graces thrive, we shall appear and act more, in all our relations, as the spiritual children of our Father. We shall bear more the image of his beneficence and love. He will himself own us, more openly, as friends ; and scatter through us, more widely, the gifts of his grace and bounty. Our example and efforts, thus blest, will avail more to raise the church around us to a tone of cheerful, consistent, vigorous piety,—to promote thorough and genuine conversion in sinners,—to bless the needy, the ignorant, the guilty and perishing of our race,—to publish abroad in the world the love of our Father in heaven, and inspire louder praises to his name from the children of his creation and adoption.

These are the reasons, christian brethren, which we present to you, on the importance of entering into full fellowship with the Spirit, on the field of your duties, and in pursuit of the great object set before you in his work of grace,—that such fellowship will render you happy, constant, and fruitful, in the divine service, and while subserving the cause of mercy in the world around you, perfect in your own hearts those holy affections which will fit you for an entrance to be administered unto you at the last, abundantly, into the everlasting kingdom of God our Savior.

Estimate, then, duly, the privileges that are now set before you. Consider what a harvest of everlasting holiness and life you may reap in the field of God's service. See how mighty a Helper the Savior has sent, to comfort, strengthen and sanctify you in the field of your toils; how ready to lead you up from the imperfections and sins which still cleave to you, to the love and purity and joy which reign triumphant in heaven! O, grieve him not, who comes to seal you to redemption and prepare you for its joys! Turn not aside, in any respect, from the great object he seeks in you. But cultivate, in full fellowship with him, the graces of christianity in your hearts. "And this we pray, brethren, that" in sweet communion with the Holy Spirit, "your love may abound yet more and more in knowledge and in all judgment; that ye may approve things that are excellent; that ye may be sincere and without offense till the day of Christ; being filled with the fruits of righteousness, which are by Jesus Christ, unto the glory and praise of God."

ART. II.—WORKS ON THE PROPHECIES.

BUSH on the Millenium. SMITH's Key to the Revelation. KEITH's Signs of the Times. KEITH's Evidence of Prophecy.

AFTER the remarks we have already made in our last number on the study of prophecy, we offer no apology for introducing to the notice of our readers the works whose titles we have placed at the head of this article. We design only to present a few thoughts in connection with each of the volumes before us, and to excite, if we may, a proper attention to a much neglected portion of the sacred scriptures.

The first of these works comes to us recommended by a

title which is sure to awaken interest in the breast of every christian. *The Millenium*, as the term is understood and the event expected, is a topic full of interest to the heart of piety. It is an event expected and prayed for by the united hosts of christendom. No subject awakens more pleasing emotions or kindles more holy aspirations in the breast of the devoted christian. It was to be expected, therefore, that a "TREATISE ON THE MILLENIUM," by a man of so much celebrity as Prof. Bush, would be hailed with delight by the christian public. But that delight was destined to be of short duration. Sad and deep was the disappointment, when the fact was announced to the public, that this treatise, instead of describing a day yet to come, was wholly devoted to the work of proving that "the Millenium is now past!" It was to many of our most devoted christians more than they were able to bear. They turned away in sorrow, resolved to cherish still the hope of a Millenium to come, even though it should be all a delusion. In vain were they told, that Prof. Bush expects a day of happiness to the church, corresponding to the general expectation. This could not satisfy them. He had taken away "the Millenium;" he had wrested from them the chapter, which, of all others, seemed most clearly to describe the *latter day glory*; and they could not receive his doctrine. As might have been expected, the book has found but few readers, and yet fewer admirers. Still, there are those who fully believe the positions taken, and assent to the conclusion with apparent satisfaction. There are others who read and admire the work for the learning and ability which it displays, and who are utterly at a loss whether to assent to or reject its doctrines. Others, (and we confess ourselves among the number,) whilst they give the author full credit for his learning and ingenuity, regard the arguments which he uses as specious, rather than solid, and his conclusion as entirely unfounded. It is needless to say, that Prof. Bush is a thorough scholar, and well-read in the science of biblical interpretation. It may seem like presumption in us, to question the soundness of his views; but we have never yet subscribed to the doctrine, that great men cannot err. We propose, therefore, to bring his views to the test, and let our readers judge for themselves.

The main object of the "Treatise" is to show, that the 20th chapter of Revelation, which describes the binding of the dragon, has reference to events long since passed, and not to any thing yet to come. He assumes it as an axiom, that the

order of events, as described in the prophetic scriptures, cannot be determined by the location of the passages which relate to them. Hence he infers, that we are to determine the events predicted in any particular portion of prophecy, entirely on principles of philology. Here, it appears to us, is the foundation of all the errors of the book. Admit this, and any man of an ingenious fancy may find parallels and coincidences enough to make out a plausible interpretation of almost any chapter, and apply it to almost any series of events he pleases. The book of prophecy becomes at once a book of riddles; and he is the wisest man, who can make out the most ingenious solution. If we are at liberty to transpose at pleasure the events predicted, or if an accidental coincidence of terms is to be our authority for such transposition, without any regard to the connection and order of the prophetic visions,—our hopes of ever presenting a rational and satisfactory scheme of interpretation, embracing in one view the whole series, are at an end. The book of Revelation becomes a chaos of splendid curiosities, from which each man selects the fragment which strikes his fancy, and reads to the world the inscription, without regard to the portion from which it has been separated.

And yet there is *some* truth in the axiom assumed in this treatise. It is true, that the prophets do not *always* pursue the order of events in their predictions. They very frequently, after presenting a vision containing a series of historical predictions, go back and take up another series, relating to events of a much earlier date than those which they have just been describing. But in such cases, there is always something to mark the transition; so that the reader is apprised of the fact, that a new order of events is under discussion. It is undoubtedly an important discovery, (let who will be the author of it,) that the Apocalypse is not to be interpreted in a continued series, from beginning to end; but that it consists of two or more separate divisions, each of which is to be taken as a distinct series of predictions. For example, it is now conceded by all able critics, that chapter xii. of the Revelation commences an entire new series of predictions, beginning far back of the events described in chapters x. and xi. There may be, and we think there are, other divisions to be discovered in the book. We have no objection to this principle, soberly applied. If Prof. Bush had shown that chapter xx. begins a new series of visions, independent of those which go before, and connected with those which follow after, we might have been convinced of his correctness. But when he asks us to

admit, that this chapter refers to events already predicted in the first general division of the book, and in no way connected with the events predicted in the preceding or following chapters, we are constrained to enter our dissent, and protest against such an unwarrantable stretch of the principle. There is such a thing as a connected series of prophetic descriptions, occupying in the recital a number of consecutive chapters, and referring to events in the order of their succession. We may exercise our judgment, in discovering where such a series begins, and where it ends. But having made this discovery, we must interpret the whole in the order of succession. We are no more at liberty to transpose the consecutive divisions in such a series, than we are to transpose the dates on a chart of chronology. The whole must be interpreted as consecutive, and applied to the events as they have occurred, or will occur in their chronological order. Take, for illustration, the vision of Nebuchadnezzar, as interpreted by Daniel. See Dan. ii. 31. Who does not see, that the rise of the four great monarchies of the earth is here set forth in chronological order? See also chapter viii. How accurately is the chronology preserved! Chapter xi. is still more striking, as it embraces the history of ages; and yet every event there predicted has occurred, thus far, in the exact order of the prediction! An example still more in point may be seen in Revelation, chapters viii. to xi. inclusive. An interpreter who should explain the events predicted under the fifth trumpet, as referring to events previous to those predicted under the third, would be regarded by every one as beside himself. The whole must be taken as a connected series, referring to events in their chronological order; or else we have no clew to guide us through this labyrinth of wonders. Chapter xii., as before remarked, commences a new subject and a new series of visions is presented, referring to a train of events entirely distinct from those of the preceding chapters. Here, therefore, we are at liberty to go back on the chart, till we find the commencement of that series of events which the visions describe. But having found it, we are bound to follow the order of history, till the series terminates. To transpose the events described in the 12th, 13th and 14th chapters, would be, according to all sound interpretation, doing violence both to scripture and to history. We shall see the application of this principle, as we proceed to examine our author's argument.

Another principle on which he lays great stress, is, that symbolic language has, throughout the scriptures, a definite

and uniform signification. Guided by this clew, he attempts to show, that the dragon spoken of in the Apocalypse, is simply a personification of the idolatrous, persecuting monarchies, which have successively harassed the church, since the days of Nimrod. "We hesitate not," he says, "to consider the dragon of the Revelation as a *standing symbol of paganism*, including in that term, the two-fold idea of *despotic government and false religion*." p. 93.

From these premises he infers, that when Constantine became a christian, or soon after, the dragon was bound. Hence the Millenium commenced in the fourth or fifth century, and is long since past. This conclusion he attempts to fortify by a learned array of proof-texts and parallel passages, which render it truly imposing. Indeed, we know several young ministers, who have adopted his theory in full, and who have consequently ceased to speak of a *future* Millenium.

The following considerations will show, that we do not dissent from these new views, without at least some show of reason. We object, in the first place, to his premises.

"The dragon," says our author, "is a symbol of paganism." The seven heads he supposes to be the various despotic governments, which have successively wielded their power against the servants of God, as the Egyptian, Assyrian, Roman, etc.

'The symbolical import of the dragon, throughout the scriptures, is that of a vast system of civil and religious oppression, perpetuated through a long course of ages, and which, at the time of this vision, was embodied in the existing Roman empire; the last in the series of despotic and pagan powers, which went to form the completeness of the draconic dominion.' p. 103.

The reader is requested to mark this definition of the dragon, as we shall have occasion to refer to it again: We merely object to it, at present, that it is too general and indefinite. The seven heads of the *scarlet-colored beast*, which, according to our author, is identical with the dragon, are distinctly declared, by the angel, to be *seven mountains on which the woman sitteth, and seven kings*. Rev. xvii. 9, 10: It is added,—*five are fallen, and one is, and the other is not yet come*. To apply such definite language as this in so general and indefinite a manner, is altogether an unauthorized interpretation. The language applies to Rome, and to Rome only. At the time of the vision, five dynasties of the Roman government had fallen; one was then existing, viz., the imperial; and one has risen since. And furthermore, the beast which *was, and is not, and yet is, which is the eighth, and is of the*

seven, (the French infidel dynasty,) has made its appearance, and gone *into perdition*. We take the position, then, that the whole drapery of the figure of the dragon is intended to represent the various forms in which Rome has appeared before the world, and wielded her power against the church of Christ. The power of Rome has been hostile to christianity, ever since christianity made its appearance on the earth. It is hostile to christianity still. It has been, and is still, emphatically the kingdom of the devil; and there is a most manifest propriety in representing the devil himself as the moving cause of all this hostility,—the real dragon assuming all these heads and horns, to accomplish his own purposes of ruin. It was the power of Rome which stood before the woman, ready to destroy the *man-child*, (Jesus,) *as soon as he was born*,—to crush his religion at the outset, in the person of the seed of the woman. The same power, moved by the same malignant spirit, after he was cast out of heaven, made war with the remnant of her seed, *which keep the commandments of God*. After paganism was dethroned, after the power was given to the saints, and they sung the joyful anthem,—*Now is come salvation, for the accuser of our brethren is cast out*,—*after the earth had helped the woman to swallow up the flood*, we find the dragon still at large, persecuting the seed of the woman. Yet according to our author, the dragon was bound when christianity became nominally the religion of the Roman empire. We simply ask, here, has there been any controversy in Europe between paganism and christianity since the dragon was loosed? The analogy does not hold. On the received hypothesis, all is easy. The dragon is the spirit of evil,—the moving agent who has ever held the ascendant in the Roman government. When he was cast out from the exercise of the civil power, by the conversion of Constantine, he first sent out a flood of barbarians, to overwhelm the church. But the *earth helped the woman*; the conquerors were incorporated with the Roman citizens, and embraced their religion. This scheme of the devil is defeated. He now makes war with the *remnant of her seed who keep the commandments of God, and have the testimony of Jesus Christ*. Rev. xii. 17. Here it will be noted, that the war was not with the church, as such, but with the *remnant of her seed*, the few *who have the testimony of Jesus*. Those who have read the history of the persecutions endured by the Waldenses and Albigenses, instigated by the power of Rome ever guided by the same spirit of evil, will be at no loss for the

interpretation. The same persecuting spirit, wielding still a power seated on the "seven mountains," made war with the remnant of the woman's seed.* We consider the premises of Professor Bush, then, as entirely unfounded. The dragon is not paganism, but the spirit of evil,—the devil himself,—living and moving in the various forms of power assumed by the Roman state, by which the true followers of Christ, in all ages, have been assailed and persecuted. Let us bring the predictions and the facts together.

The dragon stands before the woman to devour the child. Rev. xii. 4. When Jesus was born, Herod, acting under a commission from Rome, sought to slay him. Matt. ii. 16. When Jesus was accused of calling himself a king, he was delivered to be crucified by a Roman governor. When the religion of Jesus began to spread in the Roman empire, the whole power of the state was employed to destroy it. Jesus was caught up to the throne of God; and the church fled into the wilderness. But as the cause of Christ gained strength, there came on a contest for the ascendancy in the government. *There was war in heaven, and the dragon was cast out*,—and the saints shouted for joy. Dire calamities, however, await the inhabitants of the earth. Persecution and flight are in reserve for the woman; the flood is to be cast out after her; and when that fails, the dragon is to make war with *the remnant of her seed*. Every one must see at a glance, that all this cannot refer simply to the subversion of paganism under Constantine and Theodosius. The war with the remnant of the woman's seed must be subsequent to the casting out of the flood; which, according to our author, was the invasion and subversion of the empire by the northern barbarians,—subsequent to the time when the earth helped the woman, by swallowing up the flood, (the conversion of the barbarians,)—after paganism ceased to persecute the people of God,—after the time when, as Prof. Bush maintains, the dragon was bound for a thousand years. The theory which makes the dragon the symbol of paganism cannot, therefore, be correct. The church has been persecuted since the period when paganism was destroyed. In the form of popery and of infidelity, the same malignant warfare against those *who*

* If any choose to refer this prophecy to a later period, we have no controversy with them. Our object is simply to show, that it cannot be *earlier*; for it is after the casting out of the flood, consequently must be after all controversy with paganism had ceased in the Roman empire.

have the testimony of Jesus, has been prosecuted; and not till those powers are completely crippled, and prevented from doing further mischief to the church, can it be truly said, that Satan is confined to the pit.

We have another objection to this theory, founded on principles of sacred criticism. In the 12th chapter, the dragon appears with seven heads and ten horns, the symbols, as all agree, of the several political and ecclesiastical powers, by which the church has been persecuted. In the 13th chapter, we have a beast rising out of the sea, with the same heads and horns, and we are told *the dragon gave him his power, and his seat, and great authority*. This beast is conceded to be an emblem of Rome, rising again into power, out of the sea of commotions and the overwhelming disasters by which she had been visited in the Gothic invasions. The *ecclesiastical* power of Rome became dominant over the whole extent of the ancient empire. Who was it, that gave papal Rome this ascendancy? Not Rome imperial surely,—for that was dead. Not paganism,—for that was bound, according to our author, and shut up in the bottomless pit. We are happy to find Prof. Bush correct here, though at the expense of his consistency. Speaking of the incipient suppression of paganism in A. D. 320, he adds:

‘The dragon, *or the devil*, was now ejected from his strong holds, but he was urged on by the same desperate and fiendish malignity as ever, against the true sons of freedom. * * * He lays, therefore, one of his deepest, and foulest, and most devilish plots; a stratagem redolent of the serpent, and instinct with the profoundest policies of hell. He resolves upon protruding upon the vacated stage another agent, who should act as his vicegerent, and into whom he determines to transfuse the full measure of his own Satanic spirit and genius.’ pp. 128, 129.

Does Prof. Bush mean, that paganism did all this? Or does he so far lose sight of his favorite theory, as to speak of the devil himself, in plain language, as being the moving cause of this strange transfer of power? To us it seems evident, that a living agent is here presented, as standing behind the scenes, and moving the whole according to his liking; and we honor the writer the more, that he could write so candidly, in the face of all that he had previously uttered. But the remark we were about to make is this. We have in these two chapters,—1. The dragon in the costume of Rome, persecuting the church; 2. A beast in the same costume, invested by the

dragon with the same power and authority which he had previously wielded himself. And we no longer find him (the dragon) wearing these badges of power. The next time he appears on the stage, he is without his heads or his horns. See Rev. xx. 2. He is no longer the *great red dragon, having seven heads and ten horns*; he is simply the *dragon, that old serpent called the devil, and Satan*, without the least badge of power or authority upon him. To us it appears entirely at variance with sound interpretation, to make this case parallel with the others; or to suppose, that the *dragon* simply, is the same symbol as the *red dragon*, with his head and horns. It is far more rational to consider the *dragon* as a living agent; at one time wearing the livery and wielding the power of the Roman empire against the church; at another, making over to his successor this same livery and power, and himself standing behind the scenes, to direct this power against the object of his spite; and at another, caught by the angel in his true form, and in that form chained, and bound, and doomed to perdition. It is as if one of the Roman emperors, after wearing for a while the ensigns of royalty, and employing his power to persecute the saints, should have transferred the whole to a successor, whilst he secretly instigated him to the same work of carnage, till finally his machinations are detected,—he is seized, tried, and condemned, and exhibited to view on his way to prison,—not with his crown and scepter, and emblems of royalty upon him, but in his proper dress and real character.—We now proceed to test the theory before us by historical facts. If the events predicted in the twentieth chapter of the Revelation have already transpired, the fact can be verified by an appeal to history. *In the end it shall speak and not lie*, is a maxim as applicable to this as to any other prophecy in the bible.

What then are the historical facts which go to verify this interpretation? The principal facts relied on by our author, are: 1. The suppression of idolatry under Constantine and Theodosius; and 2. The invasion of the Roman state by the Turks, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

‘The dragon is paganism.’ p. 170. ‘Paganism did not *go out* of the Roman empire; it was *driven out*. The majesty of the law commanded its expulsion; and the reader who may have access to the Theodosian code, containing the enactments against paganism, is in possession of the genuine key of the passage and to the passage before us. This then was the binding of the dragon.’ pp. 154, 155.

‘The expiration of the thousand years, will nearly coincide with the

establishment of the Turkish power in Western Asia, in consequence of the capture of Constantinople, A. D. 1453.'

Will the reader look carefully at these positions? *The dragon is paganism. The binding of the dragon was the suppression of idolatry by Theodosius. And the loosing of the dragon was the invasion of the Turks, and the establishment of their power in Western Asia!!* That is, the establishment of Mohammedanism was the revival of paganism. As Prof. Bush has recently written the life of Mohammed, perhaps he will be able to show us, that the two religions are identical. But we had always supposed, that Mohammed was opposed to idolatry, and that one of the pretenses by which he justified his attack on christendom, was, that the church was corrupted with idolatry. When the Saracens went forth to conquer the world, they were expressly commanded to murder all idolaters, and yet their religion is paganism! It is passing strange, that a man of Prof. Bush's discernment should not have detected this fatal incongruity.

He argues, that this must needs be the event predicted, because the hostile powers which should be stirred up against the church are called Gog and Magog; and the land of Gog is the country from which the Turks originated. See p. 205, and onward. But this learned array of criticism cannot be made to cover so glaring a contradiction. These terms may be only symbols of a combination of hostile powers arrayed against the church, and of course prove nothing to our author's purpose. Mohammedanism is not paganism, nor ever has been. Of course, all attempts to make out a parallel must fail. But it is said: "The Turkish power is hostile to christianity: why then may it not answer to the prediction?" Simply, because the events do not tally. Read verses 7 and 8 of this chapter: "When the thousand years are expired, Satan shall be loosed out of his prison, and shall go out to deceive the nations which are in the four quarters of the earth Gog and Magog, to gather them together to battle." What influence, we ask, had paganism in gathering the Turks against Constantinople? Or when has there come down fire from heaven to devour them? What single circumstance is there corresponding with the prediction, except the mere fact, that they came from the land of Gog, and invaded a land nominally christian, yet corrupted with idolatry? And yet this must needs be the revival of ancient paganism, because some event of the kind must be discovered, or a favorite theory must be abandoned.

A single remark as to the thousand years. Prof. Bush labors to show, that the term must be understood literally. We will not dispute him, but we say, show us the thousand years, in which Satan was bound and shut up, so that he should not deceive the nations. We take the dates from his own book. Theodosius died in 395, and according to all history, idolatry was suppressed during his reign. The Ottoman Turks invaded Syria and Asia Minor, the scene of the apostles' labors, and the site of the most flourishing primitive churches, in the year 124. Putting these dates together, and allowing our author 45 years after the death of Theodosius to complete the binding of Satan, (*alias* paganism,) we still have two full centuries wanting to make out the thousand years of his confinement. Those have read the prophetic writings to little purpose, who can believe in such a wide departure from historical accuracy. It might also be pertinent here to inquire, whether this was the *first* invasion of the nations nominally christian, by powers hostile to christianity. But our limits forbid us to dwell on this point. The dates are fatal to the whole theory. The criticism by which the author attempts to support such a reading of verse seventh, as to allow of a little latitude in the dates, will not justify us in casting away two or three centuries of prophetic history, and making seven or eight hundred years to signify a thousand.

We have yet another objection to this theory. It is built too much on philology, or more properly on verbal criticism. This we wish to present in its practical application. Verbal criticism is undoubtedly good in its place, but it should never be made to supersede the necessity of attention to the connection and scope of the whole passage. The extent to which it is carried in this treatise, not only leads to an erroneous interpretation of a single chapter, but it gives encouragement to the whole system of false reasoning, by which the abettors of error labor to support their discordant theories. Once admit the principle, that each chapter is to be interpreted by itself simply by verbal criticism, and there is no theory, however extravagant, but may be plausibly maintained from the bible. This is the very principle on which many build their faith in the doctrine, that there is *no devil, no hell, no atonement, no future judgment*. And we are not without serious apprehensions, that the arguments and proof-texts and principles of reasoning here embodied, will yet be employed by designing men, as the most effectual weapons they can use against the truth and the people of God.

Our objection is, not that verbal criticism is employed, but that it is made to assume an undue importance; that it is made to outweigh, in the scale of evidence, all the considerations derived from the order of prophecy and the events of history.

Those who have not made the Apocalypse a subject of study, may think us obscure here, since we must of necessity be concise. We will be as plain as our limits permit. Let the reader open to Revelation viii and ix, and if he is at a loss for the meaning, let him read Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*. He will be satisfied, that these chapters contain an exact picture of the scenes of carnage in which the Roman Empire was desolated, dismembered and destroyed, by the successive invasions of the Goths, Vandals, Huns, Saracens and Turks, from the days of Alaric to those of Mohammed II., the conqueror of Constantinople. All these great political revolutions are here grouped together and presented in historical order. Is it rational to suppose, that the twentieth chapter should go back to the same scenes, and describe the same events over again. But the Turkish invasion, according to Prof. B. is one prominent event in the vision of this chapter. These chapters, the eighth and ninth, contain the political history of the Roman empire, from the days of Constantine down to the period of the Reformation. What reason can there be to believe, that towards the close of the book the same political history would again be brought forward? Chapters tenth and eleventh, we suppose, are intended to give a concise view of the politico-ecclesiastical state of the Roman empire, down to the Millenium, and to the end of time. Chapter twelfth evidently begins a new series,—goes back to the commencement of the christian era, and gives us the *ecclesiastical* history of the world, (the then known world,) from age to age, running parallel with the former series. This theory is adopted both by Prof. Bush and by Mr. Smith, the author of a *Key to the Revelation*. We know not who first broached it. It is unquestionably correct. Now let us look at the order of events as here described. Chapter twelfth gives us a view of the contests of the church with the dragon, in the first three centuries,—the prevalence of christianity and suppression of paganism,—the attempt to crush the church by the northern invasions, and its failure,—the further persecutions of the people of God by the dragon, down to the days of the Huguenots, if not to the days of our Pilgrim fathers. Chapter thirteenth presents us with a view of Popery,—its spiritual power, its blasphemies and lying wonders, and its ghostly

tyranny and oppression. Chapters fourteenth and fifteenth give a view of the Reformation,—the contests that ensued,—the spread of the gospel among the nations,—the scenes of blood and carnage attendant on the progress of the revolutionary spirit, till finally Babylon is destroyed, and the saints are represented as singing the song of victory. Chapter sixteenth carries us a little back, to the commencement of that series of judgments by which the nations of Europe have been and are to be emancipated from the dominion of Popery, whilst the dominion of the Turks shall be gradually wasted away, and all political obstacles to the universal spread of the gospel removed; and then it leads us on to a view of the *great battle*, the final destruction of antichrist, and the terrible judgments which shall fall on the powers that oppose the religion of Jesus. Chapter seventeenth presents a view of the church of Rome,—the great harlot,—sitting on the scarlet-colored beast, on her way to the place of execution. And lest any should mistake the meaning of the symbols, an angel is sent to explain them,—to show us distinctly, that the *beast* is *Rome*, considered in its *political* capacity, and the woman, the *church* of *Rome*.

Chapter eighteenth is a distinct and graphic description of the utter destruction of the power of Rome, civil and ecclesiastical,—and the song of triumph which the saints will raise, in view of that glorious event. We pass, for the present, chapter twentieth, and take up the twenty-first. Here we have the *new heaven* and the *new earth*,—the happy condition of the righteous, when *God shall wipe away all tears from their eyes*. Chapter twenty-second completes the picture of these glories, which await the righteous in the world above, when the irrevocable sentence shall have been pronounced: *He that is unjust, let him be unjust still*. v. 11. Who does not see, that by leaving out the twentieth chapter, we make a vast chasm in the prophetic history? We have no description of that happy day, foretold by the prophets, when *the knowledge of the glory of God shall fill the earth, as the waters cover the sea*,—no description of the *resurrection* and the *final judgment*. Can any one believe, that the spirit of prophecy has left such a chasm as this in the history of our world? Is it rational to suppose, that after the political history of Rome had been fully described,—after the history of the church had been brought down to the very dawn of the *latter day glory*,—the pen of inspiration would lead us back to the scenes of the fourth century, and represent the little help and short respite of prosperity which the church enjoyed in those days, followed as it

was by 800 years of spiritual darkness and moral death, under the sublime and glowing images of happiness which are presented in chapter twentieth? *Let him that readeth understand.*

Our author seems sensible of this incongruity of his theory; and he attempts to obviate it, by throwing out the hint, that these closing chapters of the Revelation *did not refer to the heavenly state (!)* but to the *state of the church on earth*, in the days of her future prosperity (!!!) He very prudently, however, forbears to enter upon the exposition of these chapters,—as the church is not yet ripe, he thinks, for the reception of his private views in relation to them. See page 276. If such are his views, we hope he will withhold them from the public while he lives, and see that his papers are burnt when he dies. For certain we are, that if all which is said in these chapters, may be so explained as to apply to this world, then there is nothing in the bible which may *not* be so explained; and there is no barrier left to prevent us from plunging into the deep gulf of Universalism. There is nothing to assure us, that it will be well with the righteous and ill with the wicked, beyond the grave.

We have a number of objections to this theory, growing out of the chapter itself. But we deem it unnecessary to dwell upon them. The views presented as to the meaning of *the souls of the martyrs,—the casting of the devil into the lake of fire and brimstone,—the great white throne,—the dead, small and great, standing before God,—and the process of the judgment,—and the second death*, cannot, we think, be sustained on any sound principles of biblical exegesis. We cannot withhold our amazement, that an orthodox Presbyterian should adopt principles of interpretation which go so directly to subvert the fundamental elements of our faith, and set men free from all serious apprehensions of a future retribution. That Prof. Bush has any partiality or even leaning towards such sentiments, we would not, in the slightest degree, insinuate. We cannot, however, but express our fears, that the authority of his name will yet be used to sustain an interpretation of the bible, which goes to strip the judgment of its terrors, and encourage men to sneer at the doctrine of an eternal retribution. But we have said enough,—more than perhaps many will be willing to read. The TREATISE ON THE MILLENIUM is the production of a gifted mind, but unfortunately, as we think, in its main object, a *total failure*. Prof. Bush is a philologist of the strictest sect; and in his zeal

to carry out the principles of verbal criticism, he falls into the error which, we fear, is becoming quite too common with men of his cast of mind,—that of sacrificing the order and connection of a passage, to sustain a grammatical and exegetical coincidence with other portions of the bible. This, unquestionably, is the foundation of his error ;—an error which is likely to prove fatal to his reputation as a commentator on the prophecies. Aside from the theory, his book is entertaining and instructive. In the incidental discussion of passages, not involved in his theory, he throws out many important suggestions, worthy of the attention of every one who would become acquainted with the subject of scripture-prophecy. But as a safe guide to the true doctrine of “the Millenium,” we cannot commend it, without, at least, some degree of mental reservation.

In regard to the other works named at the head of this article, our remarks must be brief. “Smith’s Key to the Revelation” is a series of lectures, explanatory and practical, on the several chapters comprising this interesting portion of the scriptures. The author, now ranked among the older class of New England divines, professes to have commenced the study of the prophecies in the early part of his ministry ; and, “though he seldom preached on the subject on the sabbath,” to have been engaged, in various places, in lecturing to such as chose to hear him, during the week. The book is the result of these labors and the substance of these lectures. The plan is a good one,—admirably adapted to the purposes of entertainment, instruction and admonition. Such lectures, repeated at suitable intervals in congregations generally, would have a powerful influence to awaken an interest in the study of the bible, to check the progress of infidelity and of Romanism, to cheer the heart of the devoted christian, and to alarm the backslider and the impenitent. The style of these lectures is easy, dignified, and sometimes forcible. The explanations and illustrations are so conducted, as to let the reader at once into the meaning of the author, and to make him *imagine*, at least, that he understands the sacred writer. We know of no work which, as a whole, is better fitted to lead men of sound minds and plain common sense, who have all their lives doubted the possibility of understanding this book, to give up their unfounded prejudices against the study, and cause them to believe, that the Apocalypse, as well as the other parts of the bible, may to some extent be understood and explained. Still it is a human production. In

relation to several important points, it fails, as we think, to give the true interpretation ; but this is no more than may be said of every work which has yet appeared on this subject or on the prophecies. No small praise is due to Mr. Smith, that, having commenced the study of this book at a time when the whole subject of prophetic interpretation was involved in mystery, when the most popular writers were those whose speculations were the most extravagant, and farthest removed from the domain of common sense, he should have so restrained his fancy and preserved his independence of thought, as finally to produce a work which, even in this age of scepticism, has never been charged with wildness or extravagance. In this he has done a service to the cause of prophetic interpretation, for which posterity ought to cherish his memory. At the same time, such is the unpretending character of the work, such are its defects, and such the caprice of fashion, that we very much doubt whether the world will ever see a second edition. Other and bolder adventurers will enter on the track which our author has opened, and, by proceeding farther and penetrating deeper, will bring out such specimens of the hidden wonders of the unexplored region, that the religious world will entirely forget their obligations to him, who first cleared away the rubbish, and prepared a path for their entrance. Mr. Smith has shown, that the line which has heretofore been pursued, in exploring the mysteries of prophecy, may, in some cases, be safely abandoned ; and though he has undoubtedly committed some mistakes in locating his new pathway, we are inclined to believe, that he is in general more correct when he takes a course entirely his own, than when he attempts to follow the way-marks of those who have gone before him.

His thoughts on the division of the Revelation into two parts, each beginning with the christian era, and running parallel down to the end of time, are undoubtedly original with him ; although others may have previously published hints to that effect. The discovery is very important. It opens a new door to the study of these mysteries. It removes much of the confusion and darkness which had hitherto rested on this portion of the sacred writings ; it makes many passages plain and palpable to the notice of every one, which before were involved in mist and obscurity. Our readers will see the use which we have made of this discovery, by recurring to some of our previous remarks. We gladly credit our author for the aid he has thus afforded us, in furnishing us solid

ground to rest upon, here in the very midst of these scenes of wonder.

Another thought, entirely original, and peculiar to Mr. Smith, respects the flight of the woman into the wilderness, Rev. xii. 6 and 14. All our commentators make these two passages descriptive of the same event. Mr. Smith maintains, that they describe *two* events, entirely distinct. The first he regards as referring to the flight and concealment of the saints, during the prevalence of papal persecution; the second, as the flight of our *pilgrim fathers* from the tyranny and corruption of the old world to the wilderness of America. We are not prepared confidently to indorse these views; but we must admit, that there is something extremely plausible in his reasoning. Our readers may obtain a clew to the course of argument, from the following extracts:

‘Verse 6: And the woman fled into the wilderness, where she hath a place prepared of God, that they should feed her there a thousand two hundred and threescore days. The true church was then, at the rise of the papal beast, driven to her wilderness-state of 1260 years. The history of the true followers of Christ, through the dark ages, and under the insults and persecutions of the papal see, gives the exact description of this wilderness-state of the church. And her supports, in that depressed state, give the true sense of the clause, “that they should feed her there.” History furnishes the fact, that the lives of the true followers of Christ were indeed preserved for centuries in a kind of literal wilderness, in the valleys of Piedmont and Dauphiny. Here was a kind of literal fulfillment of the text, united with the mystical. This view may facilitate the exposition of the next flight of the woman, in verse 14, where she is borne on eagles’ wings to *another wilderness*.’ pp. 189, 190.

‘Verse 13: And when the dragon saw that he was cast unto the earth, *he persecuted the woman*,’ etc.

‘Verse 14: And to the woman were given two wings of a great eagle, that she might flee into the wilderness, where she is nourished for a time, times, and half a time, from *the face of the serpent*.’

Satan, in the events of the antecedent verses, found himself and his legions cast out, by the Reformation, from the symbolic heaven of high popularity in the Romish church, to the earth of open opposition to Christ. By the aid of the Jesuits, the dragon now instigated new and horrid persecutions, to which the first verse of our text alludes. He “persecuted the woman,” the protestant church.

Here follows a sketch of these persecutions:

‘The flight of the church, in verse 14, followed. The *first* wilderness-state was to be 1260 years, and to this *second* flight the same

length of time seems to be ascribed ; which has led writers to conceive, that the two accounts (in verses 6 and 14) must allude to the same event. But this confounds the chronology and the events of the chapter. The difficulty, which has led to so great an error, can be easily removed. The account of the duration of the second flight (that in our text) must be elliptically expressed. It is as though the writer had said, the church thus flew to her new retreat for *the* 1260 years ; meaning for the remaining part of that well-known period. The first flight was occasioned by being in the vicinity and grasp of popery ; but in the second, the church flies to a *distant region*, from the face of the serpent.

What, then, was this second flight ? Suppose a new continent had lately been discovered, far distant from the old papal Roman earth. Suppose it to have been put into the minds of the best of the Protestants, to flee over a vast ocean, in order to find a peaceful asylum for the rights of conscience. Suppose the church there to flourish beyond all other churches on the earth, and to form there a *seat* for the commencement of the special showers of the Spirit of grace in the last days. Then let the question be asked,—What and whither is the second flight of the woman ? Would you not immediately point to this new region, and say, “thither was her flight, and here is her gracious lodgment assigned by propitious heaven ?” This is all reality, as the American church can testify. ‘The thing was transacted by our pilgrim fathers.’ pp. 195—199.

We have given only the prominent passages in the above extract, for want of room. The following are the heads of our author’s argument to sustain his novel position :

‘1. The time of the flight of our fathers corresponds with the flight in the text. 2. The occasion most fully accords with that described in the verse preceding. Persecution drove our fathers to this country. 3. The character of this band of pilgrims fully accords with the sublime figure in the text. They were the very best of people. 4. Their trials fully accord with the idea of a *flight into the wilderness*. 5. No valid objection can be made to this interpretation. 6. So signal an event as this, and its great blessing to the world, might most surely be expected to be found in *prophecy*. Could so vast an event be entirely overlooked, in the details of events in this book ? 7. The language used by celebrated writers in describing this event, strikingly corresponds with that in the text. They describe it as “a *flight into the wilderness,—a banishment, rather than a removal.*” 8. The language of the pilgrims themselves, in giving their reasons for this flight, bears a striking analogy to the language of the text. It was, to find a *refuge* for the church in time of trouble.’ pp. 199—210.

Another original interpretation, and found in Mr. Smith’s volume, respects the pouring out of the seven vials. His views are in some respects plausible, and his reasoning inge-

nious; but we are inclined to suspect, that he has failed to find the true key to this prophecy, by commencing his researches at too early a date. We cannot, however, enter into the discussion of the subject in this article.

We regard Mr. Smith as having rendered a valuable service to the church, by writing a book eminently fitted to awaken an interest in this long-neglected study, and by giving a clear development of some important principles in prophetic interpretation. But after all, we cannot recommend his "Key" as infallible. It entirely fails, we think, to unlock some of the apartments in this mystic temple, into which we most earnestly desire to be admitted. He is, in fact, but half emancipated from the shackles imposed by preceding commentators. He has found *one* important division in the Apocalypse, but he has failed to discover the others. He interprets each portion of the book as a consecutive history, as former commentators have done the whole, and takes little if any notice of the subdivisions, the anticipations and recapitulations, with which the book abounds. True, he followed, in this, the example of many illustrious predecessors, and erred on the side of modesty, if not of safety. Still we cannot but regret, that in a book containing so much that is valuable, there should be found so many relics of a scheme of interpretation which must, in our opinion, be wholly given up, or, at least, essentially modified, before the prophecies will be so interpreted, that their fulfillment may be known and read of all men. As an instance of the errors into which this scheme leads those who follow it, we might refer to the explanation here given of Rev. chap. vi. It is the same with that of Scott, and we know not how many preceding writers, and makes the whole of the six seals to relate to the ecclesiastical and political events of the first three centuries. Six-sevenths of the book of prophecy confined to the events of three hundred years!* Is such a disproportion, in itself, rational? Can the events attending the conversion of Constantine be fairly represented as according with the terrific language employed in describing the scenes of the sixth seal,—language which, as every one, our author not excepted, admits, more appropriately belongs to the day of judgment, than to any political revolution? Is it not more rational to suppose, that this chapter is a sort of intro-

* The book, or roll had seven seals, indicating that it consisted of seven leaves of parchment: six seals opened would therefore present six-sevenths of the book to view.

duction, presenting a summary view of the contents of the whole book, like the introductory sketches to a series of historical paintings, designed to present in a connected view the great outlines of the plan, the particular scenes of which are afterwards presented in detail? This may or may not be the true exposition; but we think it far preferable to the one which passes current with commentators. Let our readers, in order to satisfy themselves, open to this chapter, and read the first eight verses. Here are four horses, of divers colors, each color having a symbolic import. To ascertain this import, we may inquire, whether either of these horses appears again on the stage, so as to give us a clue to the symbol. In chap. xix. 11—16, the question is answered, and the symbol explained. He that sits on the *white* horse, is the reigning, conquering Savior, and the *color* of the horse is a striking emblem of his *pure* and *holy* religion. What then can be meant by the *red* horse, but a religion of cruelty and blood,—a religion propagated by the sword? And what is the *black* horse, but a religion of *darkness*,—a religion which *puts out the light*,—which produces a *famine* of the word of God,—the religion which prevailed in the *dark ages*? And what is the *pale* horse, but a religion of *death*,—one which promises *death*, and *death only*, to its votaries;—a religion which is attended and followed by carnage and *death* among the people that embrace it;—a religion which closes the gate to eternal life, and writes over the grave-yards a sentence which makes every reader pale and aghast,—DEATH IS AN ETERNAL SLEEP? This is, substantially, the interpretation given by Keith. We merely propose it, as a resting-point for the mind, whilst throwing off a scheme so long current, and which appears to have been adopted merely for want of a better. Those who love to think for themselves, will, at least, be pleased to investigate the chapter, unshackled by that rigid regard to chronology, which destroys all the force and sublimity of the figures here employed.

Our author's views of the approaching contest between the people of God and the combined hosts of popery, infidelity and licentiousness, are judiciously expressed, and sustained by arguments of great weight. That there is to be such a contest, is now generally admitted. That it will be brought on, in the way described by Mr. Smith, seems highly probable. That it is now rapidly approaching, every intelligent observer of the times seems ready to admit. But *what* that contest will be,—whether it shall come with “the con-

fused noise of the warrior, and with garments rolled in blood,"—or whether it will be the contest of *mind* with *mind*, in fierce discussion, and ardent efforts for a moral and political ascendancy, amidst the heavings of a great *moral* earthquake, may admit of a question. If, as he maintains, the *slaying of the witnesses* is an event *yet to come*, then undoubtedly bloody and destructive wars are yet to sweep over the whole face of Christendom, the days of *persecution* are yet to return upon us, in all the relentless fury of the dark ages; and we must prepare our minds to see, for a time, the religion of Jesus crushed to the earth, and trampled in the dust, before the coming of the latter-day glory. But with our present views, we cannot give our assent to this theory; though we confess, the arguments adduced by our author have sometimes almost staggered our belief in the sentiment, that the event just alluded to preceded the Reformation. We cannot now, however, enter upon the subject. It is worthy of a separate and labored investigation by the most gifted minds in the church; for it is a question more deeply interesting, in the present crisis, than almost any other portion of the prophetic records.

A passing notice of one other work, named at the head of this article, is all that our limits will permit. "Keith's Evidence of Prophecy" has met with a universally favorable reception, and has given its author a standing among the benefactors of the age. His "Signs of the Times" has acquired less notoriety, and is generally commended with some degree of allowance, even by those who have been deeply interested in its perusal.

It has been asserted, that the work under notice is chiefly extracted, or at least, the ideas borrowed from the work of Bishop Newton. However this may be it is of no consequence to our present object, which is, to induce every lover of prophecy to give the work an attentive and thorough examination. We know of no book within the reach of ordinary readers, so well fitted to awaken an interest in the study of prophecy,—none which presents such a rich variety of interesting and striking illustrations of the sacred text, or which appears to us so well fitted to lead the mind to a just apprehension of the true principles of prophetic interpretation.

Of course we do not commit ourselves to defend every interpretation which he has given; nor subscribe to every point of his illustrations. We think that in some cases he has been misled by an accidental coincidence of phrases in the prophecy, as compared with history, and in some cases, he

confines the interpretation to minute events, when the prophecy was evidently intended to cover a considerable space ; but, as a whole, we know of no work on this portion of the prophetic scriptures, which appears to be so well sustained by appeals to historical facts, or so well fitted to make a vivid impression and awaken a lively interest in the study of prophecy, in the minds of the mass of readers. The use which he makes of the infidel Gibbon, in demolishing the whole fabric of infidelity, is admirable, and worthy of imitation by every preacher, who would successfully combat the secret inroads of that system among his own people. His descriptions of popery also, taken verbatim from the sacred text, and the pen of history,—and often without a word of comment,—are adapted to carry conviction to every mind, not intrenched in the system, that Rome is indeed the *mystic Babylon, the mother of harlots, who has drank the blood of the saints, and who shall have blood to drink in great measure*. We give a single extract, taken at random, as a specimen of his manner of treating the sacred text, and the interest he throws around it :

‘Second seal. *And there went out another horse that was red.* Rev. vi. 4. If one horse represent the christian religion, *another* horse must, in like manner, if there be perfect harmony in the vision, represent *another* religion. And each religion must have its author or head ; as each horse had its rider. The question here is not of time, but of a new, or *another* religion. Another religion of a different and opposite nature from the christian, was thus to arise, and the founder of another faith to appear, who instead of proclaiming peace from heaven, *would take peace from the earth*,—whose religion would be propagated by *slaughter*, and to whom *a great sword was given*. Could Mahomet and Mahometanism, be more strikingly portrayed ? Keith, p. 184, 5, vol. 1.

Then follows a quotation from Gibbon,—a writer who avowed his object to be, to *account for the spread of christianity, without the admission of its divine origin* :

‘The martial apostle FOUGHT IN PERSON, in *nine battles or sieges*, and *fifty* enterprises of war were achieved in *ten* years by himself or his lieutenants. “The sword,” says Mahomet, “is the key to heaven and hell.”’ p. 186.

The following is on the same topic :

‘But another word here, marks another feature of its own fate,—*they shall KILL ONE ANOTHER*. When the caliphate fell from its high estate, history records, that *the African and Turkish guards drew their*

SWORDS AGAINST EACH OTHER, and that the sultans of Persia silenced the factions of Bagdad by their *irresistible* ARMS. Gibbon, vol. 10. p. 84.'—p. 189.

But we must bring our article to a close. The work cannot fail to interest every lover of the prophecies; and if it does not create a burning desire for the study in the breasts of those who read it, it will at least remove every feeling of contempt towards those who engage in the search after those mysteries of revelation. That many should consider the views of our author fanciful and extravagant, is no matter of surprise. He has *left the beaten track, and explored a way for himself*,—aided, it may be, by the light of a single gifted mind, whose works are more praised than read. He breaks up all our former associations, and bids us look to events, which we never imagined could be the subject of prophecy. Besides, he deals little in abstract argument, or in confident assertion. He gives the naked text, and then presents a passage of history for the comment; thus making the reader interpret for himself. The process is so easy and simple, that it is hard to believe we have actually found the right interpretation. This, we are persuaded, is one great reason why many reject the book, as an unsafe guide. It is so *simple and intelligible*, that it cannot be correct. Let all such persons read it again, endeavoring at the same time, to *determine for themselves the true meaning of the prophecy*, and they will soon dismiss the idea, that Mr. Keith is fanciful and visionary. The more attentively he is studied, the more of sober sense will be discovered in his writings. Faults, he undoubtedly has, both in sentiment and in style,—he may even have been guilty of *plagiarism*,—but he has produced a book which embraces more information as to the prophecies of Daniel, and of the Apocalypse,—and one which may be more safely used as a help to the study of those books, than any single work within the reach of the mass of American christians; and till a better is furnished, we recommend it to all who desire an acquaintance with this long neglected branch of theology.

**ART. III.—RELATIONS OF LAW AND A REVERENTIAL SPIRIT
TO INDIVIDUAL AND NATIONAL PROSPERITY.**

A WELL organized and prosperous state, presents to the philosophic mind no mean problem for solution. We behold in it great energy and industry busily at work in a thousand distinct yet harmonious spheres, to the great benefit and glory of the commonwealth. The toiling husbandman, the busy artisan, the intrepid and adventurous seaman, each in his own department, are gathering the riches of nature and art, to contribute to their own comforts and luxuries. Here, the artist in his study, is chiseling the marble into life and loveliness, or making the canvass move and glow as he transfers to it the shapings of his imagination. There, the poet, the thoughtful observer of all the goings-on of life, is bringing into a clearer light, and encircling with a brighter glory, the thoughts and feelings of the heart of man; expressing them in a language derived from the shapes and voices of the outward world, and in words which move to music. The philosopher is unlocking the secrets of nature; the scholar is interpreting the records of the past; the legislator is embodying law in institutions and ordinances, which the executive and judicial departments of government make effectual to the conservation and advancement of the public interests. It is such a spectacle as Milton, though occupied with another theme, thus divinely described: "Behold now this vast city: a city of refuge, the mansion-house of liberty, encompassed and surrounded with his protection; the shop of war hath not there more anvils and hammers waking to fashion out the plates and instruments of armed justice, in defence of beleaguered truth, than there be pens and heads there, sitting by their studious lamps, musing, searching, revolving new notions and ideas: others as fast reading, trying all things, assenting to the force of reason and conviction." That which is most admirable in such a state, is the mutual dependence each upon the other, of its numerous and diverse classes. No one remains isolated, but there is a mutual interchange of offices, and a common participation in benefits. We everywhere observe a regard to other than individual interests, manifesting itself in labors and sacrifices. Behold man at his beginning: how ignorant, and frail, and helpless! Behold him again, a model of noble beauty, with his stately and symmetrical form, his piercing eye, his capacious forehead, and his well-compact-

ed frame, capable of enduring hardships and accomplishing gigantic enterprises ; and in mind, a child and companion of heaven ; treasuring up the past in his memory, comprehending the future in his imagination, and disentangling the present by his judgment, while his affections are brought into harmony, and stretch themselves through all the circles of human relationship, to find their full fruition in God. So wonderful a change has not been accomplished but by a laborious process, requiring watchful care, patient toil, and a continual self-sacrificing spirit. We see the same forgetfulness of private interests in the enthusiasm shown in the defence of a country, when an insult has been offered to her honor, or a blow unjustly struck at her prosperity. A thrill of indignation runs through every bosom, and wealth, and ease, and life, are sacrificed without a murmur. Still more strikingly this feeling can be seen in the obedience rendered to laws which limit the privileges and restrain the liberty of men, because here, ambition and parental affection have no room to work in.

Why is it, that great multitudes possessed of strong passions, and often of rival interests, should dwell together so peacefully, and co-operate so harmoniously in labors for the common weal ? For mankind have not the innocence and gentleness of angelic nature, making obedience the law of their being, but insatiable desires, raging appetites, and a sturdy self-will, which seeks its own indulgence, and is impatient of restraint. Neither is the fear of brute force the charm which binds men together, for oftentimes the spell is strongest over those who are the least in danger of personal injury. A feeble woman will exert an irresistible influence over her sturdy sons ; and so will a preceptor over a score of boys, each of whom is more than a match for him in physical strength. When a judge on the bench orders silence through an excited and noisy crowd, the command is instantly obeyed, though it may be, that every one of the abashed and awe-struck men has strength to tear him from his seat. Go into a prison, where are congregated the most hardened criminals, and see how they will sometimes quail before the rebukes of their unarmed keeper. Or, to take a still more striking case, see a bold bad man melted into tears, and trembling before one who discloses to his awakened conscience the retributions of the life to come. A strange fear has seized him ; and he who could face, without a movement of his muscles, all the terrible array of human

justice, is bent down as a bulrush, before the messenger of an Invisible Being.

The secret of the harmonious movements of such discordant elements, is to be found, to use the words of an eminent philosopher, in "the power of law over natures pre-configured to its influence." By Law we understand, that divine power which fixes the constitution, and regulates the workings of every creature; and by pre-configuration to its influence, that reverential spirit implanted within us by our Creator, and fostered by the entire constitution of society, which impels us to look out of ourselves for laws of action and objects of love. It is an indispensable condition to the healthful action, yea, to the existence of any organized body, that the parts shall obey the laws of the whole. In the human frame, the separate members have that position and those functions assigned to them, which the idea of the whole as one demands. It must be so in every well organized society. It is implied in the very idea of organization, which is the arrangement of several parts in such a form, and the distribution amongst them of such functions, as to secure a common end.

In human society, these parts are responsible beings, each of whom has a separate existence, and acts from his own convictions and impulses. It is therefore necessary, that the idea of the whole be present to every mind, either as an admitted principle, or as an unconscious, controlling power. In plainer words, each individual must feel, that he is only a part of a great organization, the State, and as such, is subjected to laws originating out of himself, and clothed with a higher authority than his own. It is a fundamental principle, that the obligation to form the social compact, and to consent to its arrangements when formed, is antecedent to any pledges or engagements into which men may enter. In other words, that the sacred power of law has its origin, not in the individual will, but in the bosom of God, while the form of its institutions is determined by the public interests. And however angrily men might deny this in theory, yet all practically acknowledge it in every state, characterized by submission to the laws. They do in fact reverence the institutions and character of their country: she is invested in their eyes with an awful majesty, and prefers her claims to their obedience with an authority which they would feel it not merely impolitic, but morally wrong, to disregard. No man who loves his country but recognizes in her voice commanding him to obedience, or summoning him to her help in her hour of peril,

something more divine than the clamor of a majority. Her appeal is to a feeling deeper, more mysterious, more controlling, than the fear of fines and imprisonment: it is to the feeling of *obligation*, of which no one can entirely divest himself but by ceasing to be a man. Hence it is, that amongst selfish men of impetuous feelings, and often of ill-balanced judgments, where we might anticipate perfect anarchy, we find rights, privileges, and duties, accurately defined, and private interests bountifully reconciled in the unity of the commonwealth. If there is an occasional violation of the public peace, or of private rights, there is an instant movement of the whole body to redress the wrong. This is the true Orphean lyre, which, by charming together savage men, and impelling them to form societies, has been the parent of civilization, and all its fruits of literature, science, and art. When we think of the gradations of rank, of the differences of privilege, and of the great inequalities of condition that exist, yea, of the frequent abuses of power on the part of the great, and the consequent sufferings amongst the poor; the wonder is not, that there have been occasional outbursts of rage, and upturnings of the foundations, but that there has been so much peace, order, and submission to unequal laws. But the chief reason next to the original confirmation of man's mind, is found in the fact, that all the ordinances of natural and social life are most wisely and benignantly fitted to cherish a reverential and self-sacrificing spirit. It would seem almost impossible for any feeling of self-sufficiency, or spirit of insubordination, to grow strong in his heart, after the affecting lessons he is constrained to learn in infancy and childhood. His first and sweetest recollections are of a power other than his own, defending, nourishing, and blessing him. He is brought into life in a state of utter ignorance and helplessness, that he may be compelled to seek *out of himself* for all that he needs for the development and completion of his being. He seeks repose upon the supporting bosom and within the encircling arms of his mother, and receives from the hands of his parents the supplies of his wants and solace in affliction. We can conceive of no constitution under which he could have been placed, so admirably fitted to subdue the self-willedness and root out the self-sufficiency of his nature, cherish within him a reverential and affectionate spirit, and incorporate his habits of obedience with the most delightful recollections of life. The foundation of all government is laid in the family. This is the school of preparation for all the ordinances of society. We appeal to all who

have enjoyed its inestimable benefits, whether its wise instructions and salutary restraints, sweetly intermingled with the thousand overflowings of parental love, do not make a cord of seven-fold strength to bind us in the sphere of obedience. When we are transferred to the school, the work-shop, or the counting-house, we still find ourselves dependent on others for instruction and support ; and far as we extend our view we see rank after rank rising above us in power, learning, and official honors. And when we have attained to the full maturity of manhood, and no longer feel any inferiority in physical strength or intellectual attainments, we are subjected without any choice of our own to a stern and awful power, which though it is the fountain of innumerable blessings, yet lays us under a thousand restraints.

That subordinate and reverential spirit which is thus fostered by the whole structure of society, is an indispensable condition of national well-being. In a state sound at its foundations, we shall find the predominant feeling amongst the people to be reverence. Beginning in the family, it extends through all the gradations of society, however high they may reach, honoring all to whom honor is due, and pouring the fullness of its exalted homage upon the great Creator, thus clasping the various ranks of society together, and binding earth and heaven in its strong embrace. Such a people will look upon the past, as we look upon our aged parents, with love mingled with awe, and will revere it for its accumulated treasures of wisdom, its transmitted monuments of genius, and its stores of national recollections. It will be to them as their former life, past and yet present in its influences, from which rudely to divorce themselves, would be like disowning an ancient, venerable mother. The renown of its legislators and heroes will be cherished as a rich inheritance, and the institutions which they reared and defended with their blood, will seem almost indissolubly connected with the national greatness. Reform will proceed with slow and cautious steps, because they will be reluctant to unloose any of the bands which connect them with their ancestors, and will only do it from manifest necessity.

The principle which we have been unfolding and illustrating, will throw much light on the character and prospects of the age in which we live. It is in human society as in the planetary system : there are two opposing forces at work, and its perfection is found in their reconciliation. One of these is the power of the individual, which manifests itself in hope,

enterprise, and energetic action. The other force, which is as distinct from the former as are the centripetal and centrifugal forces, resides in the State, and manifests itself in the unity of interests and harmony of action which it creates, and in the obedience which it secures to a common law. The great problem for the statesman, is, to reconcile these forces, so that on the one hand the unity of the State shall not be destroyed by insubordination and rebellious movements; and, on the other, that its separate parts shall not be overwhelmed and crushed into inactivity and wasting disease by an enormous central power. But the most superficial observer will concede, that no danger is now to be apprehended from a deficiency of individual power.

This age is distinguished for restless activity among those large masses which have heretofore been sluggish: the lowest depths of society are quickened, and we can everywhere discern an aspiring motion. All classes of men are *looking up* and reaching after power and honors, to which they have hitherto been strangers. There is an evident awakening of those parts of the system which had long lain torpid, to life and warmth and motion; and almost all anticipate unbounded good from the restless and aspiring spirit which is working throughout the whole structure of society, even to its lowest foundations. Such is the enterprise of Christendom, so many and stupendous are her inventions, so great are her facilities for diffusing useful knowledge, there is such a spirit of dissatisfaction with existing evils, and so resolute a purpose to introduce a universal reformation, that they cannot but think she will come forth from all her agitations purified and glorious.

But if we examine her movements with reference to the principle we have been considering, we shall find, if we mistake not, that one of the elements of national well-being is in deficiency, viz. that which gives permanence to social institutions. This manifests itself in prompt and cheerful submission to the laws, in attachment to ancient usages and institutions, in a respectful demeanor towards all in authority, in deference to the opinions of the wise and learned, in contentment with the allotments of providence, and the arrangements of society; not so as to preclude improvement, but so as to prevent continual restlessness, and as the consequence, wide-wasting revolutions; and in all those reverential acts which indicate the feeling, that each one is a part of a vast and majestic Whole, to whose laws he is subordinated, and by whose spirit

he is possessed. But this is not the principle, and these are not the fruits of our times. The natural independency of man, and the sovereignty of private will, with the consequent origin of all obligation to obey the laws in an explicit engagement to do so; these are our theoretical principles. Every man therefore feels himself completely removed from all responsibility to a higher power, because there is no higher power than himself. He is the origin of all political power, and it would be absurd for him to reverence his own creature. He is at perfect liberty to execute all his fancies, for is he not his own master, and are not rulers his servants? Would you see the manifestations of this feeling? Behold them in the reckless assaults made on the most venerable institutions; in the hatred and scorn with which superiors are treated; in the continual transfer of power from those classes which contain the aggregate wealth and wisdom of the community, to those notoriously unqualified to exercise it; in the frequent combinations, riots, and revolutions; and in the irreverent treatment of sacred institutions, ordinances, and persons. There is a continual grasping after power amongst all ranks of men. The feeling is deeply rooted, and is developing itself in correspondent efforts, that all hereditary privileges and legislative endowments, every thing which lifts up one man or body of men out of the dead level of perfect equality, must be swept away, though it may be essential to the greatness and glory of the commonwealth. The same feeling of self-sufficiency which will not recognize any superior, displays itself in that most dangerous doctrine, not to yield to a legislative assembly the proper exercise of its functions. A body of men presumed to be selected for their wisdom, experience, and integrity, according to the forms of the constitution, and invested by it with full legislative authority, cannot be left to exercise their own judgment on important questions. Our great National and State assemblies, instead of being fountains of law to the whole country, are becoming reservoirs for the servile reception of the overflowings of unconstitutional and tumultuous assemblages. Were these principles which make man an independent and isolated being, carried out in practice to their full extent, society could not exist for a day: and herein we see the truth of a wise man's saying, that "once men were worse than their principles, but now the principles are worse than the men." But it is a fact which may well make us pause startled, that almost all the functions of government are carried on not by the old established organs which are

clothed with the authority of law, but by new and temporary organizations. The menaces of political associations have overawed court and parliament. And how readily are the forms of laws dispensed with, while illegal assemblages take upon themselves its sacred functions!

These considerations make it manifest, that there is a strong tendency to an undue elevation of the Individual, and that the authority of the State is fast falling into contempt. Private will is assuming a predominance over law which threatens greatly to embarrass the operations of government.

But we shall be told, that these are temporary evils—a giddiness produced by the first burst of light on the long benighted nations—which will be removed with the increase of knowledge. Milton long ago said, “Let truth and falsehood grapple: who ever knew truth put to the worse in a free and open encounter?” So now, our schools, colleges, newspapers, and the innumerable works in every department of knowledge, which flow forth like an inundation from the teeming press, are thought to have the virtue of the elixir which made the bloom and vigor of youth immortal.

A new field is here opened to our view, too wide and fruitful indeed, to be thoroughly explored at this time, but so intimately connected with our subject, that we cannot wholly pass it by. It must be borne in mind, that the object of our inquiry is simple and specific;—to determine the influence of periodical literature and intellectual cultivation in their present form and character upon a subordinate and reverential spirit. Certain principles with regard to popular illumination may be assumed with the consent of all reflecting men. First, that the mass of men can never become philosophers, having neither leisure nor ability to penetrate the grounds of knowledge. Secondly, that truths ought therefore to be presented to them in a practical rather than a speculative form, and those truths chiefly which define and enforce their duties.

Knowledge in itself has no tendency to induce reverential feelings. We have the highest authority for saying, that it puffeth up, that is, makes men proud and presumptuous. It has been well said, that if knowledge is power, it is neither wisdom nor goodness. An increase of knowledge, therefore, while it causes an increase of power, does not necessarily subordinate that power to an enlightened conscience and the will of God. We must ascertain its *kind* as well as *degree*, before we can determine the effects of its diffusion on the moral interests, and therefore on the real well-being of a

community. If the principles we have laid down are true, the knowledge of mathematical and physical science, and of Natural History, *in itself*, unenlivened by higher truths and moral principles, can exert no controlling and purifying influence on the moral being. No reliance, therefore, can be placed on the labors of Associations for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, in counteracting the evils of a self-sufficient and insubordinate spirit. It is said, that the longer they labor in England, the more brutal does the mass of the population become; and it is well known, that in France, during the horrors of the Revolution, philosophers rushed forth from the quietness of mathematical and metaphysical studies, to revel in those scenes of blood. The ends to be answered in the education of a people, require that the knowledge of duties be conveyed, that facts be subordinated to principles, that no evil passions be excited by the mode of communication, and that those foundation-truths which do not admit of demonstration, be not contemptuously rejected.

Bearing this in mind, let us look at our periodical Literature, especially the newspaper press. If it discussed all the great questions which concern man, with the requisite seriousness and impartiality as well as ability; if it contained no appeals to the baser passions, and no flattery of the vanity of its readers; if it did not enact into judgment on all high subjects of Religion, Philosophy, Government, and Morals, those who were deficient in all the necessary qualifications; then it might be an effectual counter-agent to the evil tendency of which we have complained. But when we consider its actual character and known effects, that, with some most honorable exceptions, its conductors must live by its sale, and of course must study the art of pleasing; that those journals have the widest circulation which make the smallest demands on the reader's powers of abstraction and attention, and furnish him with the most amusement on the easiest terms, and those which contain the most pungent and stimulating matter in the form of scandal, sarcasm, slander, and invective; that the greater part of them do not aid their readers at all in the discovery of principles, but in too many instances are vehicles of falsehood;—when we reflect on these undeniable facts, we shall moderate our expectations of good to be accomplished by such agency. It is not because many of the most popular journals are a perfect *chaos of facts*, a huddle of stories and incidents, without any vital principle of arrangement, and therefore fitted to injure the memory without invigorating the

understanding, that we dread their effects ; but because the readers of these medleys are flattered into the belief, that they are competent judges of all the great questions which concern the dearest interests of man. A self-sufficient, fault-finding, and contemptuous spirit, is thus engendered, which finds its aliment not only in the discussion of public acts, but in the dissection of private character, in the shameless invasion of the sanctuary of domestic life, and the exposure to the gaze of men of its holiest secrets. We conclude, therefore, that the influences of an "unweeded press," such as now exists amongst us, are at war with that reverential spirit which is the strongest bond of social life, and the fountain of its purest blessings.

- Another counter-agent to the restlessness and insubordination of our times, may be supposed to exist in the systems of education which fill so large a space in the public eye. And assuredly if education, in the wide and original sense of the word, was promoted by these unwearied labors ; if the ultimate aim in them all was not only to cultivate the intellectual powers, but likewise and as of primary importance, the affections and the conscience, then we might look on them as our strongest bulwarks against the encroachments of revolutionary principles. It should be the aim of every system of education to cherish those feelings of admiration and love which are the loveliest ornament of youth, and prove in after life the best defence of social institutions. The truth must be impressed on us in childhood, that there is out of and above us a wisdom and greatness which will ever claim our admiration and reverence. This may be done indirectly by teaching principles, the demonstration of which is beyond our early years, or even the matured abilities of the majority of men. These must be taught authoritatively, and be received by faith. They must be taken for granted on the authority of our teachers, or if they are religious truths, on the authority of our Creator. Nor is there any danger of producing thereby a feeling of blind submission, and of repressing the unfolding powers of the mind. All men must take for granted the fundamental principles in Science, Morals, and Religion. These constitute the $\pi\alpha\sigma\sigma\alpha\omega$ of all reasoning. If they are denied, universal scepticism is the consequence. But there is a tendency to exclude from all systems of early instruction every thing which cannot be demonstrated to a child's intellect. All truth must be made plain and easy. It is to be feared, that by thus systematically excluding all foundation-truths from the minds of the young, and teaching

them to take nothing for granted on the authority of the wise and good, we not only "run no small risk of keeping them children," but expose them to the hazard of finally rejecting in scorn those master-principles which every mind must receive in a child-like spirit, if at all. We much mistake if there are not methods of education coming into vogue which will rear up a race of sturdy disorganizers, scornful of the past, without reverence for what of goodness and greatness is left to the present. In connection with this we might mention those school-books which *plebeianize* Science by making mathematical principles to be derived from an induction of particulars. Ancient sages beheld these in the light of pure intuition, or deduced them from others that were seen to be self-grounded by an adamant logic, and subordinated all individual parts to the principles of absolute science; but our wonder-working illuminati deal only with lifeless particulars, the *disjecta membra* of science, out of which they vainly strive to form that vital principle which must be pre-supposed in every attempt at their arrangement.

Finally, there remains for our consideration, the influence of religious truth as a counter-agent to those evil tendencies which we have discovered in politics and literature. Religion, which by its very nature is a system of influences tending to restrain the self-seeking individual will, and to bring man into sweet submission to his Maker, must, (so it is said,) surely check and drive back the workings of disorganizing principles.—Alas! religion may be poisoned by pride. Radicalism may usurp her lamb-like form, to give greater power to its dragon-voice. No one who knows the anarchical course of the Anabaptists in the time of the Reformation, and of the Fifth Monarchy Men at a later period, can doubt, that the most leveling and revolutionary doctrines can be promulgated in connection with, and as a part of the christian religion. This we may safely say, that where the common sense or average understanding of men is made the judge on all high points of doctrine, and mysteries which the church in all ages has received as fundamental, are rejected on the ground of incomprehensibility; where those doctrines which misrepresent both God and man, strike the most responsive chord in the popular breast; where religion is made a matter of speculation and logical inquiry, more than of love and hearty obedience, and where its awful denunciations are forced into the service of *worldly dogmas*, rudely grafted into its heavenly stock; that there it will lose much of its controll-

ing power, if it does not even become an ally of pride and presumption.

Thus we find, that turn which way we will, the same disastrous tendencies disclose themselves, foreboding convulsions and ruin to the social state. What, then, are the grounds of the extravagant hopes which our statesmen indulge? Do they trust in the doctrine of an equality of privileges to work miracles in correcting the evils of the social state? And do they, therefore, hail the commotions and murmurs visible and audible throughout Christendom, as tokens for good? What have these political dogmas done for that country, which in science and refinement, sits a queen among the nations? What has she gained of well-regulated freedom by her repeated and bloody revolutions? No people have ever been so fluent in discoursing of Liberty and Equality, and since they began, no people rarely have enjoyed less. A poet, who had a prophet's eye, has well described her guilty and miserable career :

" The sensual and the dark rebel in vain,
Slaves by their own compulsion : in mad-game
They burst their manacles, and wear the name
Of Freedom graven on a heavier chain."

Do they trust in the increasing knowledge of the people, and in the vast machinery kept in perpetual motion, to enlighten them? Let them remember, that power not guided by wisdom, is not a blessing, but a curse ; and that if the cultivation of the affections and the conscience do not keep pace with that of the intellect, a race of strong-minded but evil-principled men will be raised up, who will not scruple to lay their impious hands on every bulwark and ornament of social life ! Do patriots look to the truths and influences of religion, as setting up an impregnable barrier against the progress of insubordination? This is indeed our last hope ; but if religion shall become infected with the same proud spirit, where then shall we look? Christendom has evidently entered upon an era characterized by new principles. Its commencement may be dated at the Reformation, an event glorious in many of its consequences, but in its remote effects leading to incidental evils, of which we have hardly yet felt the first fruits. It was impossible, that Luther and his associates should set themselves against the august and venerable names in Church and State, revolt from their authority, and overwhelm them with ridicule and invective, without injury to that reverential spirit which is the great bond of social life. It was all deserved, it

is true ; for they had made the church of God the prison-house of his saints, and had converted government into an engine of the most dreadful oppression. But how many are there, who, in such circumstances, would see the contempt and scorn with which their rulers were treated, and yet would know nothing of the cause. The proud and restless spirits would learn a lesson of insubordination, where the bold Reformer would teach them to be valiant for the truth. The discovery of the art of printing, mighty as its benefits have been, augmented the evil, for it gave into the hands of the discontented and aspiring an instrument of unbounded influence. From that day to this, all the improvements in art, and the changes in the social structure, have concurred in the elevation of the Individual. It has proceeded so far as often to become incompatible with the dominion of law, and revolutions have been the consequence. A memorable example was furnished in France, where this proud, presumptuous, and godless spirit, had reached its height. Every bond of law was snapped asunder like a flaxen thread, and Liberty and Equality played a game so originally and exquisitely absurd, that it would provoke our laughter, if its terrible atrocities did not call forth our indignation and our tears. But Europe was not then ripe for such principles and fruits. Her governments were still strong in the loyalty of their subjects. And in the long and terrible conflict which ensued, which was for the most part a conflict of principles, she succeeded in signally overthrowing the revolutionary faction, and in excluding its head and leader from all further interference in European politics. But though discomfited it was not destroyed ; its restless and energetic spirit went to work more busily than ever, in poisoning the fountains of social well-being ; and at this moment it has the predominance in that country, which once stood like a rock amidst the surges of the storm. There would be scarcely any hazard in predicting, that the time is at hand, when private will shall have acquired such a predominance, that the ordinary functions of government cannot be carried on. We fear lest we may soon see the gloomy tragedy acted over again, but on a grander scale, when man, armed at all points with the powers of a cultivated intellect, and the inexhaustible resources of art, shall use them in the service of a proud, rebellious will, and an all-grasping ambition.

In one direction only, is there hope. He, whose eye penetrates the darkest future, and whose hand never looses its grasp from his creatures, has promised, that at length the storm shall

be hushed, and a bright and cloudy sky shall encompass the earth.

Speed it, O Father ! let thy kingdom come !

ART. IV.—JONES' EXCURSIONS.

Excursions to Cairo, Jerusalem, Damascus, and Balbec, from the United States ship Delaware, during her recent cruise. With an attempt to discriminate between truth and error, in regard to the sacred places of the Holy City. By GEORGE JONES, A. M., Chaplain United States Navy. *New York, Van Nostrand & Dwight, 1836.*

THE author of this volume,—of which we meant to have given an earlier notice,—is already favorably known to the public, by his "Sketches of Naval Life," published some years ago. Those who have read that work, will need no other argument to induce them to peruse this ; and we can assure them, that it will fully sustain the writer's reputation. It does not consist, as is usual in such cases, of the records of a journal ; for our author tells us, that he kept none. It was not until his return home, that he conceived the idea of publishing the result of his observations, but when he commenced the task, he found "the events and scenes occurring in these visits made an impression so deep, that the memory had kept a record of them sufficiently faithful." This circumstance, of course, imparts freshness and vigor to his descriptions, for it leaves him only the most prominent and striking events, to bring before his readers. He gives us only those scenes which made the deepest impression on his own mind, and were best remembered.

Cairo, Jerusalem, Damascus, and Balbec ! where are there four places, to whose ruins we could undertake a pilgrimage with deeper interest, or which seem more hallowed by the recollections and the traditions of centuries that have passed ? It is going back to the birth-place of our race, and standing upon the tombs of those who were celebrated for religion and science and refinement, when all the rest of the earth was shrouded in barbarism. Egypt in particular, has always possessed a mysterious power over the mind. The very solitude in which its ruins are lying, strengthens our interest in them. When we stand upon the sands of the desert, and behold the relics of a mighty temple, sublime even in decay, and then,

far as the eye can reach, perceive no traces of life around us, the unbroken silence is in unison with the scene; we are among the abodes of a nation which has long since vanished from the earth, and we feel, that there would be something strangely discordant in listening on that spot to the tread and busy noise of the living generation. It is this which detracts so much from our feelings of awe, when we wander among the triumphal arches of ancient Rome; there is a want of harmony in the scene. Our recollections of the mighty dead are broken in upon, and dispelled by the tumult of their degraded descendants. Every thing around is animated with life, and we see the occupants of the modern city, as they throng the ruins, with all the indifference of habit, and scarcely bestow upon them a passing glance.

But there is another reason why Egypt is enabled to appeal so successfully to the imagination. The magnitude of its structures—which have already braved the influence and assault of thousands of years, and seem to have been intended to last long as this globe,—inspires us with an involuntary respect for the departed nation which erected them. The operation of the feeling is eloquently described by De Lamar-tine, who traveled through the East with all the enthusiasm of a poet. “But they,” he says, “who careless for the present, which they feel escape them, have, by a sublime instinct of immortality, by an insatiable thirst of the future, carried the national mind beyond the present, and human sentiment beyond comforts, riches, and material utility—they who have consumed generations and ages to leave in their route a high and eternal trace of their passage; those disinterested and generous nations who have moved all the great and weighty ideas of the human mind to frame codes of wisdom, legislation, theogony, arts, and sciences; those who have moved masses of marble and granite, to construct obelisks or pyramids, a sublime defiance thrown out by them to time, a silent voice with which they eternally speak to great and generous souls,—those poetical nations, as the Egyptians, Jews, Hindoos, and Greeks, who have idealized policy, and caused in the lives of their people the divine principle, the imaginative, to predominate over the human principle, that of mere utility;—it is such I love, such I venerate; I seek and adore their traces, their recollections, their works written, built, or sculptured; I live in their lives, I am present as a moved and interested spectator at the touching and heroic drama of their destinies, and I involuntarily traverse the seas to go and dream for a few days on their ashes, and dedicate to

their memories my anticipations of the future. These have well merited of men, for they elevated their minds above this globe of dust, above the passing day. They felt themselves created for a higher, a nobler destiny, and being unable to give themselves that immortality which their great and noble hearts aspire after, they said to their works—immortalize us ! subsist for us, speak of us to those who own the desert, or pass over the waves of the Ionian sea, before the Sygean Cape, or before the promontory of Iconium, where Plato taught a wisdom which will be still the wisdom of the future.”

To show that our author shared in these feelings, we need only quote his apostrophe to Egypt, when he found, that an opportunity would be given him of visiting its cities :

‘Dim land of embalmed and faded greatness, that, from the cements of the tomb, dost murmur to us in solemn and mystic language, we should see thee then ! we should stand on the banks of the Nile, where even Nature herself is shrouded in unusual obscurity : we should look down from the summits of the Pyramids, those monuments on which all ages have gazed with wonder, and where they have speculated in vain. I had myself just been living in a squatter’s cabin in Indiana, and anticipated with keen relish the strong contrast that would here be presented. I had come from witnessing the first elements of society forming into order, to see the monuments of a people ancient even in the most ancient times ; from watching the conflicts of separate individual interests, to behold the “vast expanse of ages and nations ;” from wandering amid the primeval solitudes of nature, to wander amid the solitudes of deserted cities ; and from witnessing the first efforts for human greatness to contemplate its end.’ p. 15.

The volume opens with their approach to the harbor of Alexandria. Commodore Patterson wishing to visit Cairo, an application for passports was made to Boghaz Bey, the representative of Mohammed Ali, who was then absent. He however replied, that they were unnecessary, as he should consider the Commodore as the guest of the Pasha. Boats, and every other facility, were accordingly provided for carrying our travelers up the Nile, and they were thus enabled to see the country to the greatest advantage. We cannot follow them in their course, or pretend to quote the descriptions given of the many interesting spots they visited. We will give, however, as specimens, two extracts, relating the effect produced by a view of the Pyramids, when seen at a distance, and when near :

‘It was with a thrill of joy that, on the morning of the 18th, as we sat at breakfast, at an exclamation from one of our party, we looked up,

and saw before us the Pyramids. We were then twenty-four miles distant, but, though thin and airy-like, they were very distinct. These monuments are most impressive when the spectator is either close beneath them or at a distance like this. On the present occasion they produced a very powerful effect. Their regularity of outline kept their impression clear on the mind as works of art; their shadowy appearance showed them to be very distant, while their great elevation at so remote a point affected the mind strongly with their astonishing vastness. They were in sight, with brief intervals, during the whole day, and to the last were grand and sublime objects.' p. 32.

'We had now the Pyramids in full view before us, nine miles distant, but separated from us only by the level plain. The morning air was cool and pleasant, our animals traveled well, and we left the ground rapidly behind us. But as we journeyed on, disappointment took possession of every one of us. The fabrics of which we had been reading with wonder and admiration from our childhood, were before us; there were the Pyramids; but how diminutive!

Still, as we approached them, we watched to see whether they would not at last appear in that magnitude and grandeur which we had always connected with them; but it was all in vain. Each one indulged in some epithet of dissatisfaction, and even of contempt; and thus we reached the bottom of the eminence on which they stand. But when we had wound up its sides, and reached the piece of table land on which they are erected; when we checked our animals at the foot of the first of them, the Pyramid of Cheops, and looked up; there, they were again the Pyramids, and grander far than our fancy had ever pictured them. The effect, indeed, is almost overpowering. Their simplicity contributes to this as well as their vastness. There is nothing to break up and confuse the attention. The mind, without effort, embraces the whole object; one single idea occupies the attention; a single impression is made, but it is astounding; and we feel all the sublimity of the object, because by this single impression so great an effect is produced. We cast our eyes upward; we look again at ourselves, and we wonder that we are so diminutive; we who just now were passing sentence of condemnation, and looking with contempt on this mighty work! We sink into nothingness beside it, and wish to dismount and get yet lower, and from an humbler place yield it the deep homage that the mind willingly pays to greatness. "This is great, this is very grand," was the language from the lips of many, and I believe from the hearts of all, as we passed along the base of these stupendous monuments.' pp. 86—88.

There is one point in which this volume is peculiarly valuable, but unfortunately it is one to which we cannot do justice in the brief compass of a review. We allude to the amount of information which it gives us, with regard to the civil and political condition of Egypt. We are accustomed to look upon Egypt, as a land buried in an unbroken slumber,—where all

is stagnant and degraded, and marked by the total absence of every thing like energy. But in this we are much mistaken. Under its present ruler, Mohammed Ali, Egypt seems destined to rise again, and at no distant day, vindicate its claim to be considered a civilized nation. Mr. Jones speaks of him as being "one of the greatest sovereigns of the age," and after reading the account of his wonderful energy and enterprise, we cannot but admit, that he deserves this title. The following extract places before us the true state of the country :

'The traveler through Egypt is constantly struck with two things : one, the high state of improvement in all public institutions, and the energy with which they are conducted ; and the other, the vassalage, the extremely abject state of the people. No subjects in the world are in such a wretched condition as those of the Egyptian Pasha. They have the appearance of freedom, but throughout the whole country every man is a slave to the royal master. They till the land and may call the produce theirs ; but when it is gathered in, he compels them to carry it to his store-houses, and there he purchases it at his own prices, which are just sufficient to keep them from a miserable death. The stores thus accumulated he sells all over Europe, wherever a good market can be procured ; the money is laid out chiefly in the support of his army and navy, and thus the avails of their labor are returned to the poor wretches in the shape of the "nezzam," or soldiers to keep them in subjection. Of course they hate both the Pasha and all his armed forces most cordially ; but for this he cares nought, and thus we have the spectacle of a nation apparently prosperous, but in reality extremely miserable. He is so severe in his exactions, that if a cultivator wishes to plant a tree, he must provide an equivalent for the ground it may occupy ; and in one village up the Nile, where we stopped to get vegetables, they informed us that they had none for themselves. The last season their grounds, they said, had not yielded the quantity of grain required, and this year they had been compelled to convert their gardens into wheat fields, in order to make up the deficiency.

The annual revenue of the Pasha from all these sources amounts in ordinary seasons to twenty-five, and in very fruitful years, to thirty millions of dollars. In his own personal expenses he may be considered very moderate ; and nearly the whole of this immense income is expended in public improvements, and in the pay and equipment of his army and navy. The former consists of 80,000 men, well disciplined, and efficient, and strongly attached to their duties and to the Pasha ; the navy at present consists of 11 one hundred gun ships, and as many frigates, afloat, and is to be increased to 40 vessels, chiefly of the largest class. The public improvements throughout the country evince an enlargement of mind and an energy of character, that in an eastern sovereign is wonderful, especially when we consider that in most of his operations the Pasha has no one to second him, but devises and executes by the force of his own individual energy ; and very often has to

give a personal superintendence to his operations. With regard to the abject state of his subjects, he says it is a necessary one, and is lamented by himself as much as by any other person. His power is unstable; he has lately gained a kind of slippery independence, is closely watched by his former master, the Sultan, and, without a large army and navy, his throne would soon slide from under him. His improvements, too, he says, must be carried on with untiring assiduity, or they will result in little good. His own life will probably not be continued much longer, and if they are not well advanced towards completion before his death, they will all be an abortion, and the country will retrograde to its late state of inferiority, and be again behind the character of the age. And in this he is correct; for his step-son, Ibrahim Pasha, who will doubtless be his successor, is altogether devoted to military affairs, and cares little for manufactories, unless they be of arms and munitions of war. "Therefore," argues the Pasha, (or thus at least argued the governor of Cairo for him at our first interview,) "therefore I must drive matters with the utmost speed, and to do this I must have a large revenue, and to obtain this I must lay heavy burdens on my subjects." He says, however, that as soon as the cause of these exactions is removed, and his power secured, and his improvements sufficiently advanced to fear no relapse, he will make his people comfortable; and that in the interval, by means of schools and his own example, he is endeavoring to inform them, and to stimulate them to higher views of things than they have hitherto had, and greatly to increase the resources of the country. Thus speaks the new monarch of Egypt, and I have thought it best to give the reader at once an insight into his views, in order that he may be able the better to judge of them as we proceed through the country.' pp. 16—19.

One of the greatest works undertaken by Mohammed Ali, is at the *Barage*, near the head of the Delta. Its object is, by means of dams, to raise the waters of the river to the surface of the adjoining country, and thus place it in the power of the cultivators to carry it by canals to any part, and freely irrigate the neighboring region. This would likewise enable them to redeem from the encroaching desert, an immense extent of country now quite abandoned. "If this work is successful," says Mr. Jones, "it will place him far above the constructors of the Pyramids, and make him one of the greatest benefactors that Egypt has ever known." At the time of this visit, 16,000 men were employed in digging the canals, and one hundred great dredging machines were preparing, thirty of which were already on the ground. In addition to the loose, sandy nature of the soil, which enabled the water, as soon as a dam was built, to work out for itself new channels along the sides, was added the difficulty, that every kind of tool, even the most trifling, had first to be made. But all

obstacles seem to be overcome by the invincible energy of the Pasha. The completion of this work will create an immense water power at the Barage, and it is in contemplation to erect there mills and manufactories of every kind, and also to lay out a city after the European plan. If this plan is ever carried into execution, we should suppose, that the natural advantages of the place would soon render it the capitol of Egypt.

Another work is the *canal of Mahmoudieh*, a fair example both of the Pasha's energy, and utter disregard of human life. Its history is thus given :

‘Fifteen years ago there was a scarcity of grain in Europe, but a great abundance in Egypt, and the merchant-sovereign had an opportunity of realizing an extremely handsome profit on the products of his soil ; but the Nile happened at that season to be unusually low, and vessels found it so difficult to load at the mouth of the river, that his harvest of grain was in a great measure lost. He then conceived the idea of a canal to unite the river with the secure and excellent harbor of Alexandria. With him there is but a short interval between planning and executing. He sent his soldiers into the country with requisitions on the various governors for men, according to the size of their villages or districts. The poor natives were hunted up, and being fastened to long poles by iron collars around the neck, forty to a pole, were thus driven down to the line marked out by his engineer, and there set to work. Mr. Gliddon, who saw the work in progress, informed me that there were 150,000 men employed upon it at one time. In six months the canal was completed, with the exception of a little masonry, and was opened for use. It is sixty miles in length, ninety feet wide, and eighteen in depth, including six feet of water. The workmen had no tools, except a few hoes to break the hard upper crust : when this had been done, they scraped the earth together with their fingers, formed it into balls and passed them by hand to the sides of the canal, a large portion of the wet mass often escaping between their hands while on the way. Exposed to the sun, and without shelter at night, and probably without sufficient food, disease crept in among them ; and I was credibly informed that during the digging, 30,000 of the workmen perished : their bodies, as soon as life was extinct, were tossed upon the growing heaps of earth at the side, and this was their burial.’ pp. 19—21.

What would many of our readers say to the fact, of there being a mint, iron-founderies, cotton factories, and founderies for brass cannon, all in successful operation in Egypt ? Yet such is the case. We will give our author's account of his visit to one of these cotton-factories :

‘From this we proceeded to one of those large edifices that in our moonlight sail up the river had fixed themselves so strongly on our

fancy ; but in the broad daylight, instead of a magnificent palace, with a scene of Eastern enchantment spread all around it, we found a steam cotton factory, puffing and blowing, and sending jets of smoke from every one of its numerous tall chimneys. But as we all called ourselves philanthropists, we considered it, or tried to consider it, a very pleasing sight ; and our gratification was really great, as we proceeded through the establishment and inspected its very extensive operations. The principal building is for spinning and weaving, and I counted here more than one hundred looms of cast iron, just imported from England ; in this they were just putting into operation a steam engine of twenty horse power, also of English manufacture ; the floor of the second story in this edifice is supported by cast iron columns, and every part is not only neat and convenient, but also substantial. It is superintended by a Scottish gentleman, Mr. Galloway. Attached to this is a yard for bleaching, a machine manufactory, and a long building for printing the cottons. The printing is all done by blocks, both made and worked by the natives, who in this business, we were informed, show great aptitude and skill. The patterns, copied mostly from the French, are handsome ; and the colors are said to be enduring. The price of labor here is almost nothing, and the Egyptian Pasha has only to persevere, in order to succeed in all the eastern markets. A difficulty presented itself in the expense of fuel for his steam engines, but his enterprise seems to be in a fair way to surmount even this. Some explorations on Mount Lebanon, conducted by his orders, have lately resulted in the discovery of a mine of bituminous coal, at a place called Carnayl, on the western side of the mountain, about four miles from the sea, and twelve northward from Beirout.' pp. 67—69.

Take again the description of the public works at Alexandria, and where can we find in any other sovereign now living, equal proofs of energy and enterprise ? For we must remember, that in the commencement of all these improvements, Mohammed Ali labored under every difficulty. He was obliged to be both the originator and the superintendent of every thing :

‘ While these improvements of a civil nature were going on in and about the city, the arsenals exhibited a very active scene. They were then forming a dry dock, and so deficient were they in tools, that the materials excavated were passed up and thrown out by hand ; the number of the workmen, however, making amends for the want of instruments. They expected to complete it in two years, when they would immediately commence two others ; the stone for them has all to be brought from Cairo. There were five building ways complete, and two in progress ; on the stocks were three ships of 100 guns each, ready for planking ; and the day after our arrival the keel of a sixty gun frigate was laid with religious ceremonies ; the Pasha himself, and his officers of state, attending on the occasion. The timber is brought

from Syria, where they procure both oak and pine in the greatest quantities, and of an excellent quality. Their ships are even more wall-sided than our own; but in all other respects they follow the French style of building; and according to a fashion now beginning to prevail in the navy of that country, keep all the decks for cannons clear of state-rooms and other encumbrances; the whole battery being quite clear, fore and aft, and at all times ready for action. The officers' rooms are all placed on the orlop, which is well supplied with air-ports. Their largest ship carried 138 guns, and was constructed to meet one belonging to the Sultan, and carrying 144. Owing to a difficulty in getting her out of the harbor, they were, at the time of our visit, reducing her to one deck less. The harbor of Alexandria is spacious and of sufficient depth, but the entrance is winding and difficult, and the channel is obstructed with knowls of rock, over which there is but four fathoms' water. The Pasha had sent to England for steam machinery for breaking down these rocks, and as they are of sand-stone, he will probably succeed. In the arsenal are rope-walks, two stories in height, and large ranges of store-houses well supplied. The whole establishment exhibited a neatness, and order, and efficiency, that greatly pleased our officers.' pp. 121, 122.

'However strongly we must condemn the iron despotism of the Pasha of Egypt as regards his subjects, in all public improvements there is very much that we may approve. In addition to the schools at Toura, and in the citadel, each of four hundred lads supported at the public expense, there is one also at Castleiane, in old Cairo, kept in a large palace, and containing 1000; another at Boulec containing 600; and another is to be got up in the same place, to contain also 1000; all of which are at the expense of the government. At Boulec is also a surgical and medical school, under the care of a German of great ability. In addition to the public improvements which I have noticed, it is in contemplation to construct a railway from Cairo to Suez, the route for which has already been surveyed. The day before we sailed, the Pasha directed his chief engineer, Mr. Galloway, to proceed to England, and make contracts for iron rails, cars, engines, &c.; the estimated expense of the whole work was 806,400 dollars; he intends, by and by, to extend this rail road to Alexandria.' pp. 122, 123.

This indeed presents a picture of advancement in Egypt, which we think will be new to many of our readers. We have, therefore, confined our observations on this country to these points. And as we suppose many will now be ready to ask, Who is Mohammed Ali, the master-spirit of all these changes? we shall conclude our notice of this part of the work, with a short sketch of his history, and also a description of his personal appearance, taken from Mr. Jones' account of their presentation to him:

‘Mohammed Ali is a native of Cavalla, a small town in Albanie, and owes his present exalted station entirely to his own intrepidity. He began his public career as a subordinate collector of taxes in his native district ; and, on one occasion, having distinguished himself in putting down some refractory inhabitants who had refused to pay their part of the contributions, was rewarded by the governor of the place with a rich wife and the rank of Boulouk Bashi. Soon after this he became a dealer in tobacco, without however forgetting his profession of arms ; he was successful in trade, but in a short time the invasion of Egypt by the French, called his talents into a higher sphere of operation. He was raised to the rank of Bimbashi or captain, and sent to Egypt with 300 men, the quota of soldiers furnished by Cavalla on this occasion. His bravery in this country soon drew the attention of his superior officers, and led to his advancement to higher rank ; and at length, after the massacre of the Mamelukes by the Turkish admiral at Aboukir, as already noticed, Mohammed Ali was placed in command of one division of the forces destined to march against the remainder in Upper Egypt, and effect their extermination. The Mamelukes, however, fought with desperation, and their enemies were defeated ; and Yousef Bey, who had the supreme command in this expedition, in order to shield himself from trouble, charged Mohammed Ali with treachery. The latter was near losing his head ; but he managed affairs with skill, and gained a kingdom. The army had been badly paid, and was disaffected towards their rulers ; he had ingratiated himself with the soldiers, and seizing the occasion, he first rid himself of the Turkish viceroy, and then of the leading Mameluke Beys, and soon after was entreated by the army to save Egypt from destruction by becoming himself the chief representative of the Porte. He yielded of course, and the Sultan being compelled to yield also, appointed him, though sorely against his will, the Viceroy of Egypt.’ pp. 115—117.

‘Mohammed Ali is about 60 or 65 years of age, about five feet eight inches in height, and heavy, though he can scarcely be called corpulent. His forehead is large and rough ; the eyes gray and small, with a deep wrinkle running upward from the outer angle ; they are very keen and restless ; and I believe there was not one of our large party upon whom they were not repeatedly fixed during this interview. He converses with earnestness, and laughs frequently, but his laugh is discordant and unnatural. The nose is aquiline, the mouth depressed at the corners, and garnished with a superb silvery beard. The expression of his face when he smiles is rather pleasant ; but at other times a person in his presence feels as he would do near an open barrel of gunpowder, with a shower of red-hot cinders falling around him.’ pp. 125, 126.

We now come to Jerusalem, to which, when the ship anchored at Jaffa, our author proceeded in company with a large party of the officers. He seems to have approached it

with all those deep and reverent feelings, which would naturally arise in the breast of any one who had been taught in the precepts of our faith. He thought of it as "the birth-place of a wide-spread and wonderful religion—the land of a thousand miracles—the original home of a people now spread everywhere, and everywhere a miracle ; and everywhere, from Lapland to India, still yearning towards their father-land." When visiting the holy city, the spot which witnessed the agonies of the Son of God, and the solemn mysteries of redemption, even the worldly-minded man must be, for a time, rendered solemn. How much deeper, then, and more intense, would naturally be the feelings of the christian minister ! We can readily, therefore, appreciate Mr. Jones' emotions, when, on the first morning of their arrival, he looked over Jerusalem :

'I arose early on the morning of the 16th ; the sun was shining bright, and the atmosphere had a freshness and balminess quite exhilarating. Having made a hasty toilet, I placed a ladder against our range of cells, and climbing to the flat roof, by which they were covered, gazed around ; and now, for the first time, felt that I was really in Jerusalem.

Immediately east of the city, and separated from it by a narrow valley or ravine, was a mountain large enough to command our respect by its vastness, and yet not too large for gracefulness and beauty. I knew it at once to be the *Mount of Olives*. It has three summits, one in the centre, and one at each extremity ; they are of nearly equal height, and when viewed from the city present for their outline a gentle and beautiful curve. A large part of it is covered with olive trees, particularly the central and northern summits and declivities ; and they still form so striking a feature, that if the mountain were now to be named, we should be apt to call it the Mount of Olives.

Nearer to me, and just within the city walls, on the east, was a large open place, and from the centre of this rose an octangular edifice of considerable beauty ; I had seen pictures of it, and recognized it as the mosque of Omar, standing on the supposed site of the Temple of Solomon. There at least was undoubtedly Mount Moriah, and my own eyes were gazing upon it.

I turned from it soon, however, to look for a spot of still more absorbing interest. Where was Mount Calvary ? Not far from me rose two domes, one somewhat peaked, the other one more obtuse, but very large. In all directions, however, were domes of various sizes, and the mind was puzzled, though still arrested by the position as well as the magnitude of these two. A couple of old and venerable looking monks were hanging over the parapet of a neighboring convent, watching my motions, and turning to inquire of them, I found my surmise had been correct. This was the church of Mount Calvary and of the Holy

Sepulcher.—“Put off thy shoes from off thy feet, for the place whereon thou standest is holy ground.”—“At least,” a voice seemed to say to me, “walk here with seriousness and humility; bow thy head, and cleanse thy heart, and tread with meekness the ground trod by Him who was here humbled for thee, and here bore thy sins upon the cross.” It was the Sabbath also—this first day of our visit; and the quiet and healthful influence of that holy season was added to the power which Jerusalem would at any time have exercised upon the heart.’ pp. 167—169.

The portion of this work, devoted (as the title says) to “an attempt to discriminate between truth and error, in regard to the sacred places of the Holy City,” contains much valuable information. Our author studied the localities of Jerusalem, with Josephus in his hand, availing himself of his admeasurements. He was, therefore, enabled to sift truth from falsehood, and satisfy his own mind with regard to the particular spots, which witnessed the occurrence of most of the grand events recorded in the history of the sufferings of our Savior. The usual feelings of a traveler in that city, are those of extreme credulity, with regard to any of the localities pointed out to him. And we do not wonder at it. When, in defiance of all history,—which tells us, that the city, when taken by Titus, was, with the exception of a few towers, leveled with the ground, and that a ploughshare was made to pass over it,—he is shown the houses of Pilate, of Simon the Pharisee, where Mary Magdalen washed our Savior’s feet with her tears, of St. Ann, of the rich man, &c., his patience is naturally exhausted. When he finds that a locality has been selected, even for the events recorded in the parables, and he is taken to spots upon the Mount of Olives, where the Savior taught the Lord’s prayer, where the apostles composed the creed, where Christ wept over Jerusalem, where he preached the Judgment, &c.; and on Mount Zion, where the Last Supper was held, where Peter retired to weep, and where Isaiah was sawn in two; he will be tempted to look upon all information of this kind as entirely deceptive.

But this is going into the other extreme. It is undoubtedly true, and we think our author has shown it, that the most important places,—those, for example, where the crucifixion and the burial of our Lord occurred,—may be satisfactorily determined. His reasoning with regard to these two spots, is, we think, conclusive. It is evident, he remarks, that the early christians, instead of forgetting spots of such tender and deep interest to them, would rather look upon them with a superstitious reverence. Hadrian, afterwards, to mock their feelings

by desecrating places which they looked upon as holy, erected on the sepulcher, a statue to Jupiter, and one to Venus on Mount Calvary. Helena, the mother of Constantine, two hundred years subsequently to this, caused a christian church to be built on the spot, which, with some changes, has continued to the present day. These circumstances, therefore, furnish a satisfactory chain of evidence, with regard to these localities. This conclusion is strengthened by the fact, that when Mr. Jones, trusting entirely to his own judgment, without any reference to tradition, endeavored to decide which was most probably the spot of the crucifixion, he was led to select that which tradition had always pointed out. We will give the result of his observations :

‘If we had no tradition whatever as regards the spot of our Savior’s suffering, and were left simply to the guidance of our own judgment, I think I should look for it somewhere in this angle between Hippicus and Bezetha. Public places are usually selected for such occurrences, and in this instance the enemies of the sufferer would be apt to seek for every circumstance that would add to his humiliation. We are told by the Scriptures, (John xix. 20,) that the place was *near* the city ; and as it is not probable that they would select a spot on the other side of the valley of Hinnom or of Kedron, and the hill Bezetha was covered with houses, we have left only this angle immediately north of Acra ; and in Matthew xxvii. 39, we are informed that “they that *passed by* reviled him,” which seems to intimate that the cross was adjoining some public roads or thoroughfares.

Our search then is restricted to a narrow compass ; and now, if upon this ground we should find a rocky knoll about twenty feet or more in height, it would appear to us that this would be, in all probability, the spot selected for such an occasion. It would elevate the sufferers to a height sufficient to expose them to the eyes of all the multitude, and would in all respects be adapted to a spectacle like this. Just such a rock is existing at this day, and *is the one built into the present church of the Crucifixion*. The place is in Scripture nowhere called *Mount Calvary* ; but simply *Calvary*, or “*Golgotha*, that is, a place of a skull,” and we have no reason given us there to look for a larger eminence. Indeed this seems just such an one as would be selected for such a purpose, and corresponds, both in elevation and extent, to its ignominious title.’ pp. 193, 194.

In another part of the volume, he thus describes what must have been the scene presented at the crucifixion :

‘The mind often tries to picture the scene of the Savior’s sufferings, the uplifted bloody cross, the hours of agony, the tumultuous crowds of scoffers below ; and our feelings are touched, and the heart is benefitted,

by contemplating the price that was paid for our salvation, the obligations under which we are placed by it, and the assurance it gives us of the surpassing love of Him who spared not his own Son, but gave him freely for us ; the whole scene is often one of pious thought and of pulpit description, and has frequently enlisted the skill of painters, and is a matter of practical interest. My impression is, that the scene we sketch is very seldom correct, and that the event itself had a depth of humiliation that our thoughts do not reach ; and in this I do not have reference to the condescension of the sufferer, but to circumstances connected with the locality of the suffering. Our thoughts, when they turn to this subject, I believe place before us an eminence of considerable elevation, sloping gradually upward, and crowned at the summit by the crosses of our Savior and the malefactors, while the slopes are all crowded with the excited spectators. This, I believe, is the picture that is generally presented to our mind ; and there is in it a degree of physical dignity, that the event itself, I am inclined to think, did not possess. On the other hand, if my apprehensions are correct, the crucifixion was attended with every physical circumstance that could make it humbling as well as painful ; instead of being on the summit of a lofty eminence, it was on a rocky knoll at the bottom of a natural theatre of hills ; on one side, at the distance of five hundred feet, was the city wall ; on another, the low and wretched suburb of a suburb ; it was in an open place, with dusty roads to various parts of the city passing near it ; a thoroughfare, in short, where the spectacle of dust and confusion was broken only by a few gardens, the remains of a larger range of such enclosures, now nearly destroyed by the encroaching suburb.

Such is the scene which the result of my investigations, commenced there, and followed up since my return, places before me.' pp. 171, 172.

It is by similar reasoning, that Mr. Jones comes to the conclusion, that the place of our Lord's burial is correctly pointed out. A church having been built over it, the locality of the precise spot is marked by a small chapel, with a sarcophagus, as a representative of the real sepulcher beneath. We will, however, let our author himself describe his visit :

'In the centre of the area of this church is a structure of masonry, about eight feet wide, eight or nine in height, and about twelve in length ; at one end is a marble platform, raised about twelve inches from the floor, with steps quite around, and bordered part of the length with a low marble wall or parapet on either side ; the other end of this structure, instead of being square, has three faces, in which are very small chapels for the Copts, Abyssinians, &c. The structure itself is faced with the richest marbles, in compartments, and enriched with mouldings, and has on the summit a little tower like a lantern, used, I believe, as a vent for the smoke from some lamps within the

tomb. Yes, this, they tell us, is the tomb of our Savior, hewn originally in the solid rock ; but that the exterior rock has been cut down so as to form a kind of shell, in the shape of a chapel, with its exterior surface enriched in this manner with marble. If this be so, they have sadly disguised the place, for, being lined with marble also in the interior, it has now not the least resemblance to what the scripture account of it would lead us to expect. The entrance is at the end towards the east. We ascended the marble platform, and entering by a low door found ourselves in a chamber about six feet wide and five in depth, in the centre of which is an upright column irregularly shaped, about two feet in height. They say it is the stone on which the angel sat when he announced the resurrection to Mary Magdalene, and Mary the mother of James and Salome. At the further end of this room, at the corner on the left, is a low door ; and there, stooping down, we entered another chamber about six feet square. One half of this latter apartment was occupied by a marble sarcophagus ; and in this, they say, was deposited the body of our crucified Savior.

For a while we were unwilling, and I believe, should have been unable, to enter into the inquiry, whether this was really so ;—so strong an emotion was created by the annunciation that we were in our Lord's sepulcher, and that before us was the coffin where his body had lain, and from which he rose triumphant, leading captivity captive. We stood for a long time silent, gazing on the marble ; and I believe it would have taken little to have caused us to shed tears. The place was lighted only by lamps suspended from the ceiling over the coffin ; no sounds were heard, except occasionally of our deep breathing, as our emotions became almost too strong to be restrained. And our feelings, I believe, were of a salutary nature.' pp. 206, 207.

But there was one circumstance connected with this visit to the tomb, which is too beautiful and affecting to be omitted. It was the means of fixing more deeply the serious impressions of one of that party, and ultimately inducing her to seek through faith, a vital and permanent union with Him, by whose sepulcher she had been standing :

'There was then in our company, one of whom I am allowed here to speak, but whom the shrinking modesty which she always evinced while living, and which should still be regarded, will allow me barely to notice. She was dear to us all ; and although with such solemn scenes as these around us, it becomes me to speak with humility of worldly accomplishments, I may say she possessed them in an unusual degree, and that she was admired and beloved at home and abroad by every one that knew her. She is now no longer in this world. In the grave, earthly accomplishments, and even earthly love, avail us nothing ; but religion does avail ; and the religion of the cross of Christ, so full of hope and glory, she was led to adopt by this visit to Calvary, and to the sepulcher

of Christ. She had been educated by pious friends, and had respected and esteemed the ordinances of the gospel; but this visit, and the scenes here brought before her mind, made her realize as she had not done before, how great was the price paid for her salvation, and how strong are our obligations to give ourselves unhesitatingly to Him who hesitated not to give himself for us. Selecting a proper time, when the act would be free from ostentation, she took out her bible, which she had brought to the city, and placing it on the coffin, wrote, as was long after discovered, her name and the date of our visit, with the quotation, "Let every thing that hath breath praise the Lord." Not long after her return to the ship, she made a meek yet decided avowal of this Savior, as her only hope and trust; and all who knew her witnessed a corresponding exhibition of christian character. For the change which brought the humble and gentle virtues into striking relief, while hope rose higher and became full of immortality, she always referred to this visit as the immediate cause. She was, at that time, apparently in excellent health; but youth and health are no guarantee for us in this our earthly home. When our ship, eighteen months afterwards, approached our own shore, it bore her a feeble and exhausted invalid; and when land at length rose to our sight, we scarcely heeded it; for she, our companion so long, and so beloved by us, was now a corpse. She had expired suddenly only the evening previous. By her mourning parents, in that hour of anguish, I heard this visit spoken of, and they found in its consequences a source of consolation, such as the whole earth could not have afforded them; to her, had she possessed worlds, what would they have been in comparison with her religion?" pp. 207—209.

We regret, that we have not room to bring before our readers further extracts from the interesting account which Mr. Jones gives, of everything connected with the city. He visited, as far as his time would permit, every place of interest, not only in Jerusalem, but also in the neighboring country; extending his excursions as far as Bethlehem. But we trust, that those who feel any interest on such subjects, will read the book for themselves. It will lead them to the Valley of Kedron, Mount Moriah, Mount Zion, the Pool of Bethesda, the Valley of Hinnom, the Fountain of Siloam, and all those places, the names of which have, during our whole lives, been "familiar in our mouths as household words." On leaving the city, we find recorded the following beautiful farewell:

'Farewell, then, Jerusalem, city of marvels; wonderful, awful, enthroned in the hearts of men, making a part of the very soul and life-blood of thy people. City of God! when shalt thou revive again? Terrible has been thy fall; wo upon wo was poured out upon thee; thou art stricken to the dust; and yet in thy humiliation, in the very

depths of abasement, thou still art great ! Thou drawest to thee pilgrims of three religions, whose empires stretch east and west till they meet again in the opposite confines of our globe ; they come to thee to worship, they come to thee to die ! In lands far distant and of recent birth, we are taught to lisp thy name in our childhood ; thy scenes and thy history mingle in our earliest dreams ; and in the moments when we most need comfort, our thoughts turn towards thee !

Mount Calvary ! the atmosphere does not more closely invest our globe, and enter into and support our systems, than does the comfort that flows from thy bloody cross encircle, and penetrate, and support, our souls. Without it we gasp and perish. Mysterious ! that to such a bloody scene we should have to resort for consolation. Wonderful religion, that teaches us that by the deep and awful humiliation of God we are elevated to glory ; and, after leading us amid creation, and showing us he that is wise and powerful, takes us here, and at the foot of the cross shows that He is also of boundless goodness.

Savior, who hast ransomed us, be thou enthroned in our hearts ! We descend the winding pathway, and the city of our redemption is shut from our sight : help us to enter the New Jerusalem, and to come to that Zion where is everlasting gladness, and from which sorrow and sighing for ever flee away !' pp. 306, 307.

There is one subject, however, which we cannot omit. It is with regard to the missionaries who are stationed at Jerusalem. The life of a foreign missionary is looked upon, by many, as involving but little toil or self-denial. We ask them, then, to read the account we are about to quote, and see what the heralds of the cross in those distant lands are sometimes called to suffer. The circumstances were these : Syria was at this time in the hands of Mohammed Ali, who had made one exaction after another of the people, until at length the wild inhabitants of the country parts, as ferocious in their habits as the Arabs, were driven into revolt. This occurred about eleven weeks before the visit of Mr. Jones. Jerusalem, where the Egyptian garrison was strongest, was in a few days invested by a force of 20,000 men, at all times fierce and turbulent, but now maddened into phrenzy :

'The condition of the inhabitants of Jerusalem, when they found themselves encircled by this wild and lawless host, was, as may be imagined, a very uncomfortable one ; but another horror was immediately added, one of a more frightful, because more mysterious character. It seemed as if heaven itself was about to fight for their enemies. During the very night which succeeded the investment of the city, it was shaken by an earthquake—the shocks were repeated during the next day and night—many of the houses in the city were shaken down, and the massive walls of the convent at Bethlehem were split from top to

bottom. The affrighted inhabitants took refuge in the yards of their falling tenements, and in the open places of the city; and thus, while the hills were rocking to and fro, and wailing was going up from every part of Jerusalem, some of the enemy found admittance one night, it is said, by subterranean passages, and these throwing open the gates, the hordes rushed in, and the place was given up to pillage and outrage. There were, at that time, an American, and also an English missionary family, living in the city. Mrs. Thompson, the wife of the American missionary, was in feeble health, and had an infant but a few months old to increase her anxieties; her husband was absent, and after repeated but unsuccessful attempts to join her during the siege, had been compelled to return and await the issue at Jaffa. She took refuge with their English missionary friends, Mr. and Mrs. Nicholayson; and they had all, at the early part of the war, shut themselves up in Mr. Nicholayson's house, subsisting in a rude way on some grain and dried fruits, which he had providentially on hand. Mrs. Thompson, in a letter to her husband, has touchingly described their situation, the horrors of the earthquake, and their greater horror when the cries of terror and triumph arose on the taking of the city; and when, on the following morning, they heard the Arabs forcing their own doors, and soon after met them peering among the chambers below. Mr. Nicholayson, who speaks the native language, and understands their habits well, immediately bribed some of the intruders, and, by paying them well, engaged a dozen of them to act as guardians of his house and premises, and thus saved the families and his effects from injury, except a few articles which the guardians themselves took a fancy to and carried off in their subsequent hasty retreat. Mr. Thompson's house was stripped, not a single article escaping their hands. The Egyptian soldiers, who had formed the garrison of the city, took refuge in a strong castle at the Jaffa gate, which is near Mr. Nicholayson's dwelling, and the invaders seizing on all the neighboring houses, a fire was kept up between the two parties, which I believe did little injury, except to the houses, some of which were riddled by the balls from the castle; among them was that of Mr. Nicholayson, and his family were once more compelled to take refuge in the yard. Mrs. Thompson, about this time, began to sink under the effects of such repeated alarms, and of the fatigues and exposure operating on her feeble health; a violent attack of ophthalmia succeeded, by which she lost her sight, and was reduced to extreme feebleness; at length, after much suffering, borne with meekness, she yielded her spirit with soothing hope into the hands of Him who gave it. Just previous to her death, she was heard to say, "native, native, native land." She was a lady of superior endowments and great excellence of character; but doubtless, in the hands of a wise Providence, from this seeming evil good will yet arise.' pp. 134—137.

How touching is this incident! Here is one, who, for Christ's sake, had abandoned all the dear associations of home

and kindred, lying down to die in a strange land. And in the very moments of dissolution, her mind unconsciously wanders back to the dwelling-place and the scenes of childhood,—to that dear country which she shall see no more, and she faintly murmurs with her parting breath,—“Native, native, native land!” And with this plaintive exclamation on her lips, her pure spirit was summoned to enter the eternal home of the believer,—that land where parting is unknown, and where all the sufferings of this earthly state will be recompensed with a glorious reward. Let the scoffer read this, and then acknowledge, that there is such a thing as self-denial in the christian church, and let him think how bright will be her crown, when her Master cometh.

But the trials of the missionary family were not yet ended. At the time of our traveler's visit, Mr. M., the sailing-master of the ship, was taken ill of a fever, and as he was unable to endure the fatigues of the ride, was necessarily left behind, Mr. Jones remaining with him. As the fever began to increase rapidly, they accepted Mr. Nicholayson's invitation, and had him placed in more comfortable quarters in the missionary house:

‘But Mr. Nicholayson was now himself becoming seriously ill. His health had been for some time feeble; and recent exposure to the sun and fatigue, had brought on sickness. It was now evident that a violent fever was burning in his veins. There was no nurse in the house, and I removed also from the convent to this hospital, for such Mr. N's dwelling had now literally become.

I shall not soon forget the night that followed these changes, a night of the deepest anxiety and distress. In the lower part of the house was a little girl, daughter of the Armenian patriarch of Beirout, put here to board, sick with the ophthalmia; two servants were also ill of fevers, and unable to help themselves; Mrs. N. was just recovering from a long sickness, and durst not expose herself to fatigue. In one corner of the room with me was Mr. M., restless, and in a burning heat, and on an adjoining bed was stretched Mr. N., now in a high fever, and quite delirious. For the others we could find some medicines tolerably appropriate, but the case of the last gentleman baffled our judgment, and there was not a physician to be had in the place. It was sad to be compelled to sit and listen to his ravings, and to see the disease hourly taking stronger hold upon him, and know not what to do. The ruling passion of his life was still prevailing, even in his wildest fancies; and his language was about the mission and its friends, or else he was disputing with the Jewish Rabbis, and quoting Hebrew from their voluminous authors. Thus wore the night away, a long and distressing night; and the day brought no relief, for we had the grief to see our

friend sinking fast under his fiery disease. The fever left him towards evening, but as weak as an infant, and now particularly needing assistance, which we knew not how to give; for the disease appeared to be of a complicated nature, and the little medicine which we ventured to administer, had done harm rather than good. If I could picture that missionary family as I saw it there, the scene would, I think, be a refutation of the charges of those who seem to think that missionaries go abroad for selfish and unworthy purposes. They had just passed through times of alarm and distress, such as persons seldom, and in our homes are never, called to witness; a city for days rocked and shattered by earthquakes, till the affrighted inhabitants knew not where to fly, and then plundered by fierce and lawless men. Their house had been pierced with cannon balls, and they were compelled to fly from one place to another for shelter; one of their company, whose health had been too feeble for these rude shocks, they had carried to the tomb, and had buried her beside another martyr in the same cause of missions.* In the house were now six invalids, some very ill, and one, the head of the family, apparently at the point of death; nor was there a physician to be anywhere found. And the grave which we expected to dig for him was soon after this dug for another of the mission family, Dr. Dodge, whom we met on the way as we were returning to Jaffa. Yet they keep their ground, undismayed by dangers and death; suffering discomforts with cheerfulness; patient amid rebuffs, and with a zeal that tries, even in subjects of disappointment, to find new sources of hope, and that "fainteth not, neither is weary." Nine months after this, as our ship was lying in Gibraltar bay, I heard that Mrs. Nicholayson was on board an English brig that, after suffering severely in a storm, had just come in and anchored; and procuring a boat, I went within speaking distance, for the brig was in quarantine, and we were not permitted to go on board. She was then taking her little children to England for the purpose of putting them to school, and among society less hurtful to youthful minds than that of the East; and after thus leaving them, was to return to her far distant and now childless home. If in all this is not a picture of self-denial, and patient endurance, and christian boldness, and painful sacrifice, I do not know what is; and yet it is only a plain statement of facts. In our ships we are apt to complain of discomforts; and yet we have plenty of medicines, and good surgical attendance, food such as we are accustomed to at home, and society and abundance of comforts of every kind; and yet it seems a hard case to be three years from home; and I now speak of ships in particular, because their inmates know what it is to be a long time from one's native land. But suppose it were for life; and a life separated from the comforts to which we have been accustomed, shut out in a great measure from intelligent society; a life of drudgery, too, offering knowledge to those who care not for it; simplifying its nature, and bringing it to the capa-

* Dr. Dalton, from England.

cities of all, and yet exciting little interest, and perhaps a sneer? Is this a life to be sought for, for the sake of worldly considerations? I think not. There is only one way in which we can reconcile it even with common sense; and that is, by supposing that missionaries are sincere; that they love their work; that the promises of the gospel, and the cheering influences of heavenly grace, support them; and that they look to eternity for their exceeding great reward. And when we look at them in this point of view, how engaging is their work, and how Godlike the errand on which they are gone?

As regards the missionaries themselves, I do not know any class of men that presents, as a body, a more respectable array of talent or intelligence than this; and if any one should be disposed to doubt the fact, the proof is very easily to be found. He has only to take their reports to their several societies, their letters and published addresses to the public, and when he has read them, I will challenge him to produce from any other class of men, productions so uniformly correct in style, so free from puerilities, and so abundant in useful facts and valuable sentiments. In geography and statistics, in mineralogy, in geology, and in various other matters of science, they have furnished us with a mass of most valuable information from all parts of the world; their observations are minute, and generally very correct; and if the world were to receive no other benefit than the knowledge which their papers have scattered among our community, it would be recompensed for the money bestowed upon them. I do not wish to write their panegyric, but to defend them from charges which I have often heard brought against them; and the defence is a simple statement of facts which are before the public, and to which any man who chooses may have access. As to the charge that the pictures they give of their successes are over-wrought, I believe it often to be just; and it is not strange that men who have given their lives to one great subject, and are filled with zeal and are in earnest about it, should sometimes over-rate their influence, or, in the excitement of supposed or real success, should draw a picture more highly colored than a cooler observation of facts would warrant. But this, I believe, is the extent of their offending; they themselves appear to have been taught by experience greater distrust and caution in these matters; and their recent accounts will be found to be more stamped with prudence, and more the result of cool and calm observation, than they formerly were; while they show no diminution of interest in their great work. I cannot help again earnestly recommending their letters and reports home, and repeating that these reports, coming from so large a number of men, and so variously situated, are remarkable for perspicuity of style, and for simplicity and yet force of expression.

The night of the 21st passed away like the preceding one, a long night, and one of great anxiety; life seemed to be hanging by so brittle a thread, that the least shock appeared capable of breaking it. I stole now and then from the sick man's couch, and looked out upon the city,

bathed in moonlight, and hushed in the deepest repose. How quiet ! how tranquil !' pp. 295—301.

But Providence had determined, that Mr. N. should yet be preserved. On the following afternoon, a physician arrived from the ship, who came immediately to see him, and on examining, spoke very doubtfully of his case. He, however, offered his services for the night, and afterwards persevered in a course of most assiduous attentions, which, our author thinks, were the means of saving his valuable life. Before Mr. Jones left the city, Mr. N., though very weak, was convalescent ; and they were happy afterwards to hear of his entire recovery.

Such are some of the incidents which happened at Jerusalem. We had intended to follow the travelers in their excursion to Damascus and Balbec, but our limits will not permit. We will only say, that it equals in interest the former part of the volume. They beheld those magnificent ruins, even now the wonder of the world,—visited Lady Hester Stanhope in her retreat, and spent a night encamped on Mount Lebanon, skirmishing with the wild tribe which inhabits it, and which had attacked them for the sake of plunder.

We cannot help expressing our satisfaction at the revolution which has taken place with regard to the appointment of naval chaplains. It is not many years since that office was a kind of sinecure, which involved the performance of no duty, but that of reading the burial service, and which was often held by men who did not lay claim even to a decent morality in their conduct. At present, we believe, none are appointed but clergymen regularly ordained according to the rules of some of our religious denominations. Solemn, indeed, are the duties of their office, when they are thus called to proclaim the word of eternal life to hundreds of immortal souls, who, perhaps for years, hear it from no lips but theirs ! The volume before us bears marks, in every part, of being written by one who never forgets, that he is a christian minister ; and we believe, that his meditations, when he first looked upon Jerusalem, as it lay before him, in the stillness of the early morning, reveal to us the true sentiments of his heart. We give this, therefore, as our concluding extract :

‘I am not ashamed of the gospel of Christ. Imagination in its highest flights has not pictured a scene that will compare in interest, or in deep and searching pathos, with the reality here displayed in the redemption of man. It partakes of the character of all the works of God, combining a simplicity that opens it to the comprehension of all men, with

a grandeur and sublimity that must excite the admiration of the highest seraphim. I have seen it where I have seen man's proud philosophy quail and shrink into nothingness—in the sick room and by the dying bed ; I have seen it come gently and quietly, and open the feeble lips in praise, and in utterance of joyful and triumphant hope. I have seen it sustain and cheer those whom the world, and the world's enjoyments and earthly hopes too, had all deserted, and who would otherwise have been left in maddening solitude and wretchedness ; I have seen it sustain them ; and while the body was tortured with pains, I have seen it raise the mind superior to bodily feeling, and while the cold sweat was breaking out upon the brow, keep that brow calm and serene. The tortured child of clay thought of his Savior's humiliation and pains, and of the glory wrought out for him ; and, in the boundless love that led to the sufferings of Calvary, found assurance that God was even now a friend closer than a brother, and would not desert him to the last. "I am not ashamed of the gospel of Christ crucified, for it is the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth ;"—and the highest honor of my life was on that day, when I was permitted to walk amid scenes dignified and exalted by the great events of our redemption.' pp. 169, 170.

ART. V.—HISTORICAL AND CRITICAL VIEW OF CASES IN
THE INDO-EUROPEAN LANGUAGES.

(Continued from page 134.)

IN the preceding portion of this essay, we have endeavored to ascertain, by historical induction, the system of cases in the Indo European languages ; we have attempted a philosophical elucidation of the same, by grounding them on space, the most simple and earliest of our ideas ; we have commenced also the proof, that these cases are radically one in the several languages. Having finished the cases of the singular and dual, we proceed to the plural.

16. *Nom. and Accus. Plural.*

These cases constitute, in the languages in which they are found, the leading cases. We consider them together.

The forms of the plural in the various Indo-European languages, beginning with the more ancient families, are as follows :

(1.) In Sanscrit, the ancient language of India, where we look for the earliest forms of language, masculine and femi-

nine nouns form the plural in *as* and *an*, and neuter nouns in *i*. Thus :

- Masc. *wrik-as*, nom. voc. *wrik-an*, acc. wolves.
 Masc. *bratar-as*, nom. voc. *bratri-n*, acc. brothers.
 Fem. *dshihwas*, nom. voc. acc. tongues.
 Fem. *duhitar-as*, nom. voc. *duhtri-s*, acc. daughters.
 Neut. *warin-i*, nom. voc. acc. waters.
 Neut. *naman-i*, nom. voc. acc. names.

In the ancient Veda-dialect, the neuter plural of some words ends in *a* ; as, *wana*, woods. Hence it is possible, that the termination of neuters plural in *i* in Sanscrit, is a later corruption.

(2.) In Zendish, the language of Zoroaster, and having a close resemblance to the Sanscrit in form and antiquity, masculine and feminine nouns form the plural in *o*, which is thought to be formed from *as*, by a general law of the language, more rarely in *as* and *an*, and neuters in *a*. Thus :

- Masc. *wehrk-an*, acc. wolves.
 Masc. *bratar-o*, nom. voc. *brathreu-s*, acc. brothers.
 Fem. *hizwa-o*, nom. voc. acc. tongues.
 Fem. { *dughdhar-o*, } nom. voc. *dughdhereu-s*, daughters.
 { *dughdhar-as*, }
 Neut. *war-a*, nom. voc. acc. waters.
 Neut. *naman-a*, nom. voc. acc. names.

In modern Persian, animate objects form the plural in *an*, and inanimate in *ha*. Thus :

- Merd*, a man, *merdan*, men.
Murg, a bird, *murgan*, birds.
Ruz, a day, *ruzha*, days.
Khiwan, a table, *khiwanha*, tables.

(3.) In Lithuanian, an existing popular dialect, which possesses, however, a very refined and complete grammatical structure, and has preserved many ancient Sanscrit forms, masculine and feminine nouns form the plural in *es* and *s*. Thus :

- Masc. *sunu-s*, sons.
 Masc. *wilka-i*, wolves.
 Fem. *dugter-es*, daughters.
 Fem. *ranko-s*, hands.

In one of these forms, namely, *wilkai*, there is an irregularity, which is found in Greek and Latin much more extensively, as we shall have occasion to notice.

(4.) In Old Slavic, masculine and feminine nouns form the plural in *e* and *i*, (the final *s* being rejected by a general law of the language,) and neuters in *a*. Thus :

Masc. *gostj-e*, guests.
 Masc. *rab-i*, servants.
 Fem. *mater-e*, mothers.
 Fem. *kost-i*, bones.
 Neut. *imen-a*, names.
 Neut. *morj-a*, seas.

In Russian and Polish, the terminations of the plural are as follows :

Masc.	Fem.	Neut.
Russ. <i>i</i> , nom.	<i>i</i> , nom.	<i>a</i> , nom. voc. acc.
Pol. <i>e, i, y</i> .	<i>e, i, y</i> .	<i>a</i> , nom. voc. acc.

(5.) The Shemitish dialects, as they are for the most part destitute of cases, exhibit the terminations of the plural in a very pure form. They are affected by the gender of the noun, which is always either masculine or feminine, as in the following table :

Masc. plur. termin.	Fem. plur. termin.
Chald. <i>in</i> ,	<i>an</i> , absol. <i>ath</i> , const.
Syr. <i>in</i> ,	<i>on</i> , absol. <i>oth</i> , const.
Heb. <i>im</i> , rarely <i>in</i> ,	<i>oth</i> , absol. and const.
Arab. <i>una</i> , nom. <i>ina</i> , gen. acc.	<i>atun</i> , nom. <i>atin</i> , gen. acc.
Ethiop. <i>an</i> ,	<i>ath</i> .

There is reason to believe, that in the early stages of Shemitism, the terminations of the plural did not mark the gender of the noun, but were used indiscriminately. This accords remarkably with the fact, that both these terminations are found in the other Indo-European languages, without reference to gender ; for there can be no reasonable doubt, that *n* of the first column, of which *m* is merely a euphonic variety, (comp. Lat. *Ilion* and *Ilium*,) and *th* of the second, the same with *s*, (by a frequent interchange of these letters,) correspond to *s* and *n*, the indexes of the plural in all the nations by which the Shemites were surrounded. It is remarkable, too, that the Chaldaic presents us in this case with the rudest and most ancient form, in exact accordance with the views to which Dr. Webster, of this country, and Dr. Fürst, of Leipsic, have arrived, by distinct and independent processes of reasoning.

(6.) In Greek, inanimate objects, or rather, those objects which the lively imagination of the language-makers did not

endow with life, form the nominative, vocative, and accusative plural in *a*. Masculine and feminine nouns form the plural in *ες*; except in the first and second declensions, where *ς* is changed into *ι*. A similar change, we have seen, takes place with regard to a few words in Lithuanian. Thus:

- I. Dec. masc. Ἀτρεΐδ-αι, nom. voc. Ἀτρεΐδ-ας, acc. the sons of Atreus.
 — fem. μουσ-αι, nom. voc. μοῖσ-ας, acc. muses.
 II. Dec. masc. λύκ-οι, nom. voc. λύκ-ους, acc. wolves.
 — neut. δῶρ-α, nom. voc. acc. gifts.
 III. Dec. masc. πατέρ-ες, nom. voc. πατέρ-ας, acc. fathers.
 — fem. μητέρ-ες, nom. voc. μητέρ-ας, acc. mothers.
 — neut. φέροντ-α, nom. voc. acc. bringing.

(7.) In Latin, we find the same law as in Greek. Thus:

- I. Dec. masc. *Atridae*, for *Atridai*, nom. voc. *Atridas*, acc. the sons of Atreus.
 — fem. *musae*, for *musai*, nom. voc. *musas*, acc. muses.
 II. Dec. masc. *lupi*, for *lupoi*, nom. voc. *lupos*, acc. wolves.
 — neut. *dona*, nom. voc. acc. gifts.
 III. Dec. masc. *patres*, nom. voc. acc. fathers.
 — fem. *matres*, nom. voc. acc. mothers.
 — neut. *ferentia*, nom. voc. acc. bringing.
 IV. Dec. masc. *fructus*, for *fructues*, nom. voc. acc. fruits.
 — neut. *cornua*, nom. voc. acc. horns.
 V. Dec. fem. *res*, nom. voc. acc. things.

The modern Latin languages form the plural, as in the following table:

	Masc.	Fem.
Provenc.	no term. nom. s. acc.	s
Ital.	i	e
Span.	s	s
Port.	s	s
French	s	s

It appears, that the Italians have formed the plural nominative of all masculine nouns in *i*, after Lat. *lupi* of second declension, and of all feminines in *e*, (*ae*.) after Lat. *musae* of first declension, and have lost the plural *s* entirely. But the other languages, by forming the plural from the Latin accusative, have restored the *s*, which had in part fallen away from the Latin nominative; as the Provençal in the feminine, and the Spanish, Portuguese, and French, in both the masculine and the feminine.

(8.) The Meso-Gothic, the purest and most ancient of the Teutonic dialects, forms the masculine and feminine plural

in *s*, and the neuter in nominative, vocative, and accusative, in *a*. Thus:

Masc. *vulfos*, nom. voc. *vulfans*, acc. wolves.
 Masc. *gasteis*, nom. voc. *gastins*, acc. guests.
 Fem. *gibos*, nom. voc. acc. gifts.
 Fem. *ansteis*, nom. voc. *anstins*, acc. mercies.
 Neut. *daura*, nom. voc. acc. gifts.
 Neut. *namona*, nom. voc. acc. names.

The other Teutonic dialects form the plural, as in the following table:

Old Germ.	<i>un, a, i, and o.</i>
Old Sax.	<i>os, on, a, and i.</i>
Anglo Sax.	<i>as, an, and a.</i>
Iceland.	<i>ar, and ir.</i>
Swed.	<i>n, e, and r.</i>
Dan.	<i>n, e, and er.</i>
Germ.	<i>en, e, and er.</i>
Dutch	<i>s, and en.</i>
Eng.	<i>s, es, and en.</i>

(9.) The Celtic dialects have various plural endings.

Welsh *au, awr, ed, ez, i, ion, od, oz, on, wys, yz.*
 Corn. *ou, iou, i, ion, ez.*
 Armor. *ou, iou, et, ien.*

From this survey of the nominative and accusative plural in the Indo-European languages, we deduce two general principles.

(1.) With the exception of the Celtic family, whose plural forms are less understood, and of the Shemitish, who have no neuter gender, as their vivid imagination gave life to all objects, all the other families have formed the neuter plural in *a*, and have employed this termination alike for the nominative, vocative, and accusative. This is true of the Persian or Iranian family, both in ancient and modern times, as appears from the Zendish and modern Persian; of the Slavic family, as appears from the ancient Slavic and modern Russian and Polish; of the Meso-Gothic, the most ancient representative of the Teutonic family; also, as is well known, of the Latin and Greek; and probably, although the evidence is less clear, of the ancient Sanscrit. We could hardly expect to discover in the physical world a more general and uniform law. It appears, then, that the rule of Latin and Greek grammar, that neuters plural form nominative, accusative, and vocative, in

a, which the school-boy repeats with so little interest, was an imperious, all-controlling principle with the various Indo-European tribes, which they brought with them from their original location, and cherished in all their wanderings.

(2.) In respect to masculines and feminines plural, it appears, that there were two terminations in *n* and *s*, which among the Shemites gradually became masculine and feminine, and in Sanscrit were gradually assigned to the nominative and accusative, while one or both of them have extended to nearly all the Indo-European tribes.

17. Dative Plural.

The terminations of the dative plural are as follows: Sansc. *b'yas*; Zend. *byô*; Lithuan. *mus, ms*; Old Slav. *m*; Greek $\phi\iota, \phi\iota\upsilon$; Lat. *bus, bis*; (comp. sing. datives *tibi, sibi, ibi, ubi*;) Meso-Goth. *m*, also *ms*; Erse *aibh*.

The coincidence of the dative plural in Erse with that of the other languages is so striking, that it alone is sufficient to show the connection of the Erse case-system with the others.

18. Ablative Plural.

The ablative plural has the form of the dative.

19. Local Plural.

The forms of the local plural are:

(1.) In Sanscrit, *su* and *s'u*, probably from *s'wa*, by apocope of *a*, and vocalising of *w*.

(2.) In Zendish, *hu* and *s'u*, more commonly *hwa* and *s'wa*.

(3.) In Lithuanian, *se* and *sa*.

(4.) In Old Slavic, *ch*, (from Zend. *hwa*.)

(5.) In Greek, $\sigma\iota, (\sigma\iota\upsilon,)$ the usual dative.

20. Instrumental Plural.

The instrumental plural ends in Sanscrit, in *b'is*, (comp. dative plural;) in Zendish, in *bis*; in Lithuanian, in *mis*; in Old Slavic, in *mi*; in Greek, in $\phi\iota\upsilon$; in Lat. in *bis*; (in pronouns *nobis, vobis*;) in Meso-Gothic, in *m*.

21. Genitive Plural.

The terminations of the Genitive plural are as follows: Sansc. *sâm, s'âm, âm*; Zend. *s'nm, anm*; Lithuan. *û*, (with loss of *m*;) Old Slav. entirely lost; Greek, $\omega\upsilon$; Lat. *rum, um*; Meso-Goth. *zê, zô, ê*.

We think the evidence complete, as to the unity of origin of these several cases in the Indo-European languages.

§ 7. We come now to a more interesting part of our subject, to examine the case-systems as they exist in the leading Indo-European languages, compared with the system developed in Sect. 4. Our details, however, are much more limited and imperfect than we could desire.

1. *Sanscrit Cases.*

The cases in Sanscrit are the nominative, vocative, dative, accusative, ablative, local, instrumental, and genitive. Their functions correspond generally to their names; but we add here the following remarks:

(1.) The vocative is of more extensive use than in most languages.

(2.) The ablative denotes primarily the place *whence*; hence it is used after the comparative degree, as in Latin; also in phrases like Latin *Deo natus*; also as the cause, but not as the instrument, for which there is a peculiar case.

(3.) The instrumental denotes the instrument; also the accompaniment; perhaps the author of an action.

(4.) The accusative includes the terminal.

Of the languages immediately derived from the Sanscrit, the Moorish has three cases; the High Indostanic six; the Bengalic seven; the Malabar eight; the Cingalese six; and the Gipseyan eight.

2. *Zendish Cases.*

The Zendish has the same cases, and probably with the same functions, as the Sanscrit. We remark, however, that the genitive is often used for the ablative.

The modern Persian has only two or three cases; namely, a nominative, a dative or accusative ending in *ra*, and in poetry a vocative in *a*.

3. *Lithuanian Cases.*

The Lithuanian has a local and an instrumental case, but no ablative.

The Lettish and Old Prussian have six cases, among which is a local, instead of an ablative.

4. *Slavic Cases.*

The Old Slavic, Russian, and Polish, have a local and an instrumental case, but no ablative.

The Russian and Polish instrumental denotes the instrument or manner. The local is never used without a preposition.

5. Shemitish Cases.

The Arabic has three cases, the nominative, genitive, and accusative.

The Ethiopic, Modern Arabic, and the other Shemitish dialects, (all except the ancient Arabic,) have no cases.

With respect to the Hebrew, we observe:

(1.) The Hebrew expresses the genitive in a peculiar manner; viz., by a change in the first noun, instead of the second.

(2.) The Hebrew genitive is strictly adnominal, and its force nearly coincides with that which we have given to the I. E. genitive.

6. Latin Cases.

I. The nominative;

1. As the nominative,

(1.) Denoting the subject before a finite verb; as, *equus currit*; or in some equivalent form of expression; as, *en Priamus, ecce homo, vita Miltiadis, Terentii comoediae*.

(2.) Denoting the predicate after a preceding subject in the nominative, with which, from the nature of the case, it stands in concord; as, *ego incedo regina*.

2. As the vocative, which is but partially formed in Latin; as, *O vir amicus!*

II. The vocative, denoting the person addressed; as, *O formose puer!*

III. The dative;

1. As the dative,

(1.) Denoting that to which any thing belongs; as, *est mihi liber*.

(2.) Denoting that which any property or attribute affects; as, *utilis agris*.

(3.) Denoting the mediate or remoter object, after verbs governing two objects; as, *dat mihi librum*; and sometimes when there is only one object; as, *favet civibus*.

(4.) A second dative; as, *est mihi honori*.

2. As the terminal, in poetry; as, *it clamor coelo*. Virg.

IV. The accusative;

1. As the accusative,

(1.) Denoting the passive object after a transitive verb; as, *legatos mittunt*.

(2.) Denoting the cognate action, after a neuter verb ; as, *pugnare pugnam*.

(3.) Denoting a second object after verbs of asking, teaching, etc., governing two objects equally remote ; as, *rogo te nummos*.

(4.) Denoting the subject in a subordinate proposition, when that proposition is formed into a case by internal inflection, (see p. 117, supra,) whether such case is the nominative or accusative, it being really objective in the view of the understanding ; as, *Alexandrum Babylone mortuum esse*.

(5.) Denoting the predicate, where the subject is in the accusative ; as, *me consulem fecistis, Deum esse sapientem constat*.

2. As the terminal,

(1.) Denoting the place whither ; as, *Romam proficiscitur*.

(2.) Denoting the time till which any thing exists ; as, *vixit annos triginta*.

(3.) Denoting the magnitude, amount of time, etc. ; as, *fossa quindecim pedes lata, te jam annum audientem Cratippum*.

V. The ablative ;

1. As the ablative,

(1.) Denoting the place from which any thing issues, after verbs of motion ; as, *Brundisio profecti sumus ; domo, from home*.

(2.) Denoting the time from which any thing takes place ; as, *ab incunabulis*.

(3.) Denoting the whole, of which any thing is a part ; as, *alter ex censoribus*.

(4.) Denoting the material of which any consists ; as, *fecit ex auro*.

(5.) After comparatives, as if *from* ; as, *splendidior vitro*.

(6.) Denoting the cause ; as, *natus patre, aeger vulneribus*.

2. As the local,

(1.) Denoting the place where ; as, *Alexander Babylone est mortuus*.

(2.) Denoting the time when ; as, *die quinto decessit*.

(3.) Denoting the state, condition, or circumstances ; as, *pace, bello*.

3. As the instrumental,

(1.) Denoting the place through which ; as, *quâ, sc. viâ*.

(2.) Denoting the instrument, or means ; as, *cornibus tauri se tutantur*. Cic. *Britanni carne vivunt*.

(3.) Denoting the accompaniment ; as, *infirmâ valetudine, Deo teste*.

(4.) Denoting the member or part affected, or thing concerned; as, *quietus animo, hesitantes linguâ, pauci numero, major natu, natione Medus.*

4. As the modal,

(1.) Denoting the manner or mode of using the means; as, *magnis viribus transjicit.* Hirt. *Injuria fit duobis modis, aut vi aut fraude.* Cic. Off. I. 13.

(2.) Denoting likeness or comparison; as, *nostro more.*

VI. The genitive. The uses of this case have been anticipated, p. 116, supra.

VII. The local case, denoting the point of place or time, remains only in a few forms; as, *terrae, Corinthi, vesperi, ruri.*

VIII. The instrumental or modal remains only in certain adverbial forms; as, *durè, acerbè.*

Of the modern Latin languages, the Provençal has two cases, the nominative and the accusative; the Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, and French, have none, except in the pronoun, which has two.

7. Greek Cases.

I. The nominative;

1. As the nominative,

(1.) Denoting the subject before a finite verb, either active, neuter, or passive; as, *ἐγὼ γράφω, ἐγὼ εἰμι, ἐγὼ τύπτομαι*; or in some equivalent form of expression; as, *ἰδοὺ ὁ ἀνδρῶπος, ἐπιστολὴ Ἰακώβου.*

(2.) Denoting the predicate after a preceding subject in the nominative, with which, from the nature of the case, it stands in concord; as, *ἐγὼ εἰμι διδάσκαλος.*

(3.) Absolute, arising from the anacoluthon; as, *ὁ νικῶν, ποιήσω αὐτὸν στυλόν.*

2. As the vocative; as, *ὦ θεός.*

II. The vocative, denoting the person addressed, more developed than in Latin; as, *ὦ Πρίαμος.*

III. The dative;

1. As the dative,

(1.) Denoting that to which any thing belongs; as, *ἔστι μοι βίβλος.*

(2.) Denoting that which any attribute or property affects; as, *χρήσιμος ἐμοί.*

(3.) Denoting the mediate or remoter object, after verbs governing two objects; as, *διδόναι ἑμαυτὸν πόλει*; and sometimes when there is only one object; as, *βοηθεῖν τῇ πατρίδι.*

2. As the local,

(1.) Denoting the place where; as, *Μαγαζῶνι.*

(2.) Denoting the time when; as, τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ.

(3.) Denoting the state, condition, or circumstances; as, ἐν πολέμῳ, ἐν εἰρήνῃ.

3. As the instrumental,

(1.) Denoting the place through which; as, ᾗ sc. ὁδῷ.

(2.) Denoting the instrument or means; as, πατάσσειν ῥάβδῳ, ταῖς εὐεργεσίαις δημαγωγεῖ.

(3.) Denoting the accompaniment; as, ὁμοῦ τοῖς ἄλλοις, καλύπτει Κρόνον αὐτοῖσι συμμάχοισι.

(4.) Denoting the cause; as, φόβῳ ἔπραττον.

(5.) Denoting the member or part affected, or thing concerned; as, ἀλκῇ παραπλήσιος ἐλέφαντι.

4. As the modal,

(1.) Denoting the manner or mode of using the means; as, κτείνει με δόλῳ ἢ βίᾳ, μεγάλη σπουδῇ πάντα ἐπράττετο.

(2.) Denoting likeness or comparison; as, τίνι τρόπῳ.

IV. The accusative;

1. As the accusative,

(1.) Denoting the passive object after a transitive verb; as, γινώσκει σεαυτὸν.

(2.) Denoting the cognate action after a neuter verb; as, βίον βιώναι.

(3.) Denoting the second object after verbs of asking, teaching, etc., governing two objects equally remote; as, αἰτῶ σε μὲν.

(4.) Denoting the second object after a causative verb; as, ποτίζω σε ὕδωρ.

(5.) Denoting the subject in a subordinate proposition, when that proposition is formed into a case by internal inflection, (see p. 117, supra,) whether such case is the nominative or accusative, it being really objective in the view of the understanding; as, τὸ ἀμαρτάνειν ἀνθρώπους οὐ θαυμαστόν, τὸ εἶναι θεοῦς ὁῦλον, οἶδα τὸ εἶναι θεοῦς.

(6.) Denoting the predicate where the subject is in the accusative; as, ἔλεγεν ἐαυτὸν στρατηγὸν γεγονέναι.

2. As the terminal,

(1.) Denoting the place whither; as, οὐρανὸν ἵκεν.

(2.) Denoting the time till which any thing exists; as, ἐβίωσεν ἔτη τριάκοντα.

(3.) Denoting the magnitude, amount of time, price, etc.; as, τάφρος πεντακαίδεκα πόδας πλατεῖα, παρέμεινε τρία ἔτη, δύναται ἔξ τάλαντα.

V. The genitive;

1. Strictly adnominal,

(1.) Genitive of subject, answering to adverbial nominative case; as, ἀγάπη τοῦ θεοῦ.

(2.) Genitive of participation, answering to adverbial dative; as, εἰς κακῶν.

(3.) Genitive of object, answering to adverbial accusative; as, ἀγάπη τοῦ θεοῦ.

(4.) Genitive of mode, answering to adverbial modal; as, προσευχῇ πίστεως.

(5.) Genitive of source, answering to adverbial ablative; as, ἀγγελία Χίου, οὐδείς Ἑλλήνων, στέφανος ὑακίνθων.

(6.) Genitive of place, answering to adverbial local; as, ἰχθύς τῆς θαλάσσης.

(7.) Genitive of goal, answering to adverbial terminal; as, κατάβασις ἁδου.

(8.) Genitive of means, answering to adverbial instrumental; as, μάχη λογχῶν.

2. As adverbial; for the genitive, although originally adnominal, has assumed the functions of some of the adverbial cases, (see p. 116, supra,) particularly of those which have been dropped.

(1.) Adverbial genitive of object; as, ἡμῶν κρατεῖ.

(2.) Adverbial genitive of mode; as, διὰ ἀθυρίας.

(3.) Adverbial genitive of source; as, εἶχε πολέμου, πολλοῦ αὐτοῦς οὐχ ἑώρακα χρόνου, στήλη χαλκοῦ πεποιημένη, μέλιτος ἀμείνων.

(4.) Adverbial genitive of place; as, Ἄργεος, at Argos, νυκτός, by night.

(5.) Adverbial genitive of goal; as, ἄξιος πολλοῦ.

(6.) Adverbial genitive of means; as, ἐμπρῆσαι νῆας πυρός, ξυνεπρίβην τῆς κεφαλῆς.

VI. The ablative is retained only in *ως*, the termination of some adverbs of quality. (See p. 129, supra.) Its proper functions have passed, for the most part, to the genitive.

VII. The local case, denoting the point of place or time, remains only in certain adverbs. (See p. 130, supra.)

VIII. The functions of the instrumental are supplied by the dative.

In modern Greek, the dative case is nearly extinct. Its place is supplied by the accusative with prepositions.

Note. According to Buttmann, (Gr. Gram. Eng. Transl. And. 1833, p. 367,) "the fundamental idea of the dative is directly opposed to that of the genitive; since in the dative the idea of *approach* lies at the basis." And (p. 362) "the fundamental idea of the genitive is that of *separation* or *abstraction*, of *going forth from*, or *out of* any thing. Hence, therefore, the ideas of the prepositions *of* (out of) and *from* lie primarily in the case itself." And (p. 65) "the Greek gives the signification of the Latin ablative partly to the genitive, and partly to the dative."

These statements of this celebrated Greek grammarian, are, in our view, essentially deficient; for, (1.) We know of no Greek phrase, in which the genitive and dative are directly opposed to each other, as here described. (2.) So

far is the dative from having for its basis the idea of *approach*, that the functions of the terminal case are in Greek supplied altogether by the accusative. (3.) The primary use of the genitive is adnominal, and as such it expresses all the relations. (See above.) It is only in its later adverbial use, that it has assumed the functions of the ablative, and appears to express separation or abstraction. (4.) The proper functions of the ablative have passed for the most part to the genitive; it is its secondary functions, as that of the local, instrumental, and modal, which have passed to the dative.

8. *Teutonic Cases.*

For the cases in the several Teutonic dialects, see the table, p. 109, *supra*.

For the remains of an instrumental case in these dialects, see pp. 131, 132, *supra*.

With respect to the German language in particular, the Indo-European cases are provided for in the following manner:

(1.) A nominative performs the functions of the I. E. nominative and vocative.

(2.) A dative performs the office of the I. E. dative. It is also used after prepositions, in place of the extinct I. E. ablative, local, instrumental, and modal.

(3.) An accusative performs the functions of the I. E. accusative, and also of the terminal; which last has usually a preposition.

(4.) The modal or instrumental is extinct, except in certain adverbs, *wie, so, desto, ja*. Its place is supplied by the dative with a preposition, or by the adverbial genitive.

(5.) The ablative is extinct, and its place supplied by the dative with a preposition, or by the adverbial genitive.

(6.) The local is extinct, and its place supplied by the dative with a preposition, or by the adverbial genitive.

(7.) A genitive exists in full vigor, which requires a more complete exhibition.

A. The adnominal genitive.

a. Genitive of subject.

Direct; as, *die Schriften des Verfassers*.

Inverted; as, *der Verfasser der Schriften*.

b. Genitive of participation, or possession.

Direct; as, *der Garten des Herrn*.

Inverted; as, *der Herr des Gartens*.

c. Genitive of object.

Direct; as, *der Schöpfer der Welt*.

Inverted; as, *die Welt des Schöpfers*.

(4.) Genitive of mode, answering to adverbial modal; as, *προσευχῇ πίστεως*.

(5.) Genitive of source, answering to adverbial ablative; as, *ἀγγελία Χίου, οὐδείς Ἑλλήνων, στέφανος Ἀκινάων*.

(6.) Genitive of place, answering to adverbial local; as, *ἐχθρὸς τῆς θαλάσσης*.

(7.) Genitive of goal, answering to adverbial terminal; as, *κατάβασις ἁδου*.

(8.) Genitive of means, answering to adverbial instrumental; as, *μάχη λογχῶν*.

2. As adverbial; for the genitive, although originally adnominal, has assumed the functions of some of the adverbial cases, (see p. 116, supra,) particularly of those which have been dropped.

(1.) Adverbial genitive of object; as, *ἡμῶν κρατεῖ*.

(2.) Adverbial genitive of mode; as, *διὰ ἀθυρίας*.

(3.) Adverbial genitive of source; as, *εἶχε πολέμου, πολλοῦ αὐτοῦς οὐχ ἐώρακα χρόνου, στήλη χαλκοῦ πεποιημένη, μέλιτος ἀμείνων*.

(4.) Adverbial genitive of place; as, *Ἄργεος*, at Argos, *νυκτός*, by night.

(5.) Adverbial genitive of goal; as, *ἄξιος πολλοῦ*.

(6.) Adverbial genitive of means; as, *ἐμπρῆσαι νῆας πυρός, ξυνετρίβην τῆς κεφαλῆς*.

VI. The ablative is retained only in *ως*, the termination of some adverbs of quality. (See p. 129, supra.) Its proper functions have passed, for the most part, to the genitive.

VII. The local case, denoting the point of place or time, remains only in certain adverbs. (See p. 130, supra.)

VIII. The functions of the instrumental are supplied by the dative.

In modern Greek, the dative case is nearly extinct. Its place is supplied by the accusative with prepositions.

Note. According to Buttmann, (Gr. Gram. Eng. Transl. And. 1833, p. 367,) "the fundamental idea of the dative is directly opposed to that of the genitive; since in the dative the idea of *approach* lies at the basis." And (p. 362) "the fundamental idea of the genitive is that of *separation* or *abstraction*, of *going forth from*, or *out of* any thing. Hence, therefore, the ideas of the prepositions *of* (out of) and *from* lie primarily in the case itself." And (p. 65) "the Greek gives the signification of the Latin ablative partly to the genitive, and partly to the dative."

These statements of this celebrated Greek grammarian, are, in our view, essentially deficient; for, (1.) We know of no Greek phrase, in which the genitive and dative are directly opposed to each other, as here described. (2.) So

far is the dative from having for its basis the idea of *approach*, that the functions of the terminal case are in Greek supplied altogether by the accusative. (3.) The primary use of the genitive is adnominal, and as such it expresses all the relations. (See above.) It is only in its later adverbial use, that it has assumed the functions of the ablative, and appears to express separation or abstraction. (4.) The proper functions of the ablative have passed for the most part to the genitive; it is its secondary functions, as that of the local, instrumental, and modal, which have passed to the dative.

8. *Teutonic Cases.*

For the cases in the several Teutonic dialects, see the table, p. 109, *supra*.

For the remains of an instrumental case in these dialects, see pp. 131, 132, *supra*.

With respect to the German language in particular, the Indo-European cases are provided for in the following manner :

(1.) A nominative performs the functions of the I. E. nominative and vocative.

(2.) A dative performs the office of the I. E. dative. It is also used after prepositions, in place of the extinct I. E. ablative, local, instrumental, and modal.

(3.) An accusative performs the functions of the I. E. accusative, and also of the terminal; which last has usually a preposition.

(4.) The modal or instrumental is extinct, except in certain adverbs, *wie, so, desto, ja*. Its place is supplied by the dative with a preposition, or by the adverbial genitive.

(5.) The ablative is extinct, and its place supplied by the dative with a preposition, or by the adverbial genitive.

(6.) The local is extinct, and its place supplied by the dative with a preposition, or by the adverbial genitive.

(7.) A genitive exists in full vigor, which requires a more complete exhibition.

A. The adnominal genitive.

a. Genitive of subject.

Direct; as, *die Schriften des Verfassers*.

Inverted; as, *der Verfasser der Schriften*.

b. Genitive of participation, or possession.

Direct; as, *der Garten des Herrn*.

Inverted; as, *der Herr des Gartens*.

c. Genitive of object.

Direct; as, *der Schöpfer der Welt*.

Inverted; as, *die Welt des Schöpfers*.

- d. Genitive of mode.
Direct ; as, *ein Mann hohes Muthes*.
Inverted ; as, *die Freundschaft eines Edeln*.
- e. Genitive of source.
Direct ; as, *Stufen Erzes*.
Inverted ; as, *das Gold dieses Ringes*.
- f. Genitive of place.
Direct ; as, *die Blumen des Feldes*.
Inverted ; as, *das Feld der Blumen*.
- g. Genitive of goal.
Direct ;—
Inverted ; as, *das Ziel unsrer Reise*.
- h. Genitive of instrument.
Direct ; as, *das Verbrande des Feuers*.
Inverted ; as, *das Feuer des Verbrandes*.
- B. The adverbial genitive.
 - a. Genitive of object ; as, *er achtet meiner Worte nicht*.
 - b. Genitive of mode ; as, *frohes Muthes sein*.
 - c. Genitive of source ; as, *er trank des Baches*.
 - d. Genitive of place ; as, *hiesiges Ortes, Abends*.
 - e. Genitive of goal ; as, *eines Daumens dick*.
 - f. Genitive of instrument ; as, *sterben Hungers*.

In respect to the cases in English, we observe :

(1.) A nominative performs the functions of the I. E. nominative and vocative, and is also used for what is called the *nominative absolute*.

(2.) An accusative, which in the pronoun has a distinct form, and in the noun may be always distinguished by substituting a pronoun, performs the functions of the I. E. accusative, and occasionally of the terminal and dative; and by the aid of prepositions supplies the place of the two latter, and of all the other adverbial cases.

(3.) A genitive, the use of which is becoming more and more limited, performs the office of the adnominal case.

9. Celtic Cases.

The Erse has six cases ; the nominative, vocative, dative, accusative, ablative, and genitive.

The Welch, Armorican, and Cornish, have no cases.

Concluding Remarks.

Rem. 1. It appears from the view which we have taken, that there has been but one system of cases in the Indo-Euro-

pean languages, either as it respects the logical grounds on which they are founded, or the phonetic sounds adopted to express them. A second system of independent origin is nowhere to be found. It is from this and similar investigations, that we come to the important result, that from the banks of the Ganges to the Atlantic ocean a powerful stock of languages have spread themselves, having everywhere the same roots and the same inflections.

Rem. 2. The Indo-European system of cases, although originally possessed of a high degree of perfection, has been gradually breaking down, and its parts supplied by divers expedients. This appears from the relation of modern Persian to the Zendish, of modern Armenian to ancient Armenian, of modern Arabic to ancient Arabic, of the modern Romance languages to the Latin, and of the modern Teutonic dialects to the Meso-gothic. The most common expedient has been the use of prepositions, but frequently the functions of a case, which has been dropped, have been thrown on one of the remaining cases, to which it has some real or supposed analogy. The cases which have been first dropped are naturally those denoting external relations, which is the primary office of prepositions.

Rem. 3. As the cases, in all the languages most known, are derived from an original system, by dropping some cases, and supplying their place by prepositions and other accidental expedients, a perfectly unique system is not to be expected in any one language. Every attempt to gain a philosophic view of cases in this way has been a failure. Grammarians, we apprehend, have erred particularly in defining the ablative in Latin, and the genitive in Greek, by reasoning from the resources of one language only. The true system, or the original prototype derived from the laws of the human mind, is not found in any one language, but lies scattered through them all. Comparative philology, conducted on true historical and philosophical principles, is the only means of attaining to this system. The idea held by some, that the Latin and Greek languages acquired their so called perfection in the classic age, needs to be received with much limitation. The sort of perfection intended by those who think thus, must be something very different from symmetry of form. Whatever philosophy or symmetry these languages possess, must undoubtedly be traced to an earlier age. The human mind acts indeed constantly on language, but it is the action of the great mass, which has never been much subjected to the control of

the philosopher or the grammarian. And indeed, the true philosophy of language has not been hitherto sufficiently understood, to expect any valuable improvement from such influence.

Rem. 4. The necessity of some cases to express the higher relations, and the usefulness of other cases to denote the lower relations, on the one hand, and the impossibility of expressing all the relations without the aid of prepositions, on the other, have produced a great diversity in the various languages on this subject. What relations shall be expressed by cases, and what by prepositions, has been from the first the ground of discord among nations. No two seem perfectly agreed on this point.

Rem. 5. The earliest form of the Indo-European languages, seem not to have been perfect. At least the Sanscrit system of cases contains the seeds of its own destruction. The accusative and terminal, as well as the modal and instrumental, are already united. The vocative is but partial, and the ablative nearly superseded by the genitive, as ominous of its final extinction.

Rem. 6. As these cases have their foundation in the human mind, as they belonged originally to the Indo-European languages, are still found in many of them, and their fragments perhaps in all, it is highly important, that particular regard should be had to them in special grammars. It is only in this way, that different languages can be fairly brought into comparison, and the study of one language made the stepping-stone to the attainment of another. It was formerly the practice, in grammars of modern languages, to follow out the order of the Latin cases. This was right in principle. The error lay in the want of a philosophical standard. A common standard, judiciously selected, would, without doubt, be highly advantageous to the cause of general philology. But the Latin cases had deviated too far from their original simplicity to be thus used. The Latin ablative, for example, has acquired nearly opposite meanings, denoting the place whence, where, and whereby, and performing the functions of four cases, namely, the ablative, local, instrumental, and modal. Yet ambiguity seldom arises, for the preceding verb helps to determine the meaning, and prepositions are used when necessary.

Rem. 7. In our analysis of the cases, we have proceeded on historical principles. We have followed the actual developments of the human mind. It is in this way, that we may

hope to elicit new truths. It is in this way, that grammar may ultimately throw much light on many points of logic and metaphysics. The object of the scientific philologist is not to make distinctions, but to find them. His highest aim, his proudest triumph, is to discover the intention of the language-maker. When this is done, he may be sure that he has arrived at an important and fundamental truth. For all the distinctions in grammar are important in themselves, and enter into the interior of the human mind.

P. S. We subjoin here a short communication on a part of the foregoing article, together with a brief remark or two of our own respecting the same subject.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CHRISTIAN SPECTATOR.

In the *Historical and Critical View of Cases in the Indo-European Languages*, in the Spectator, March, 1837, there are some mistakes which ought not to pass unnoticed.

The writer observes, that "The most obvious relations, which would present themselves most readily to the human mind, in the very infancy of society, are those of place.—Most prepositions primarily denoted place." "The most simple relation of place, is that of rest in a place, or the answer to the question *where*? This gives rise to the *local* case."

In this statement there is a radical mistake. The prepositions did *not* primarily denote place; at least not generally; and probably never. Some of the prepositions cannot now be traced to their originals; but as far as I have been able to ascertain the originals, the prepositions are verbs, or derived from verbs; and instead of denoting place, or rest in a place, they denote, or originally denoted, *motion* or *action*.

Thus in English, *by* is from a verb signifying to *go* or *pass*. Hence its use in the phrase, by the *by*, in *passing*, or as we pass, French, *en passant*. So in the phrase, good *bye* or *by*, we observe the like sense of the word; a good *going* or departure; precisely equivalent to *farewell*, which is *go well*.

For, is also a verb, or from a verb, denoting *go* or *advance*. Hence *fore* denotes *advance*, in *front*. The sense of the phrase, a gift *for* him, is a gift *towards* him, implying motion, advancing, and hence figuratively, as respect *for* him, love *for* him. Hence *for* denotes continuance in time; as, he will write or work *for* a day or a month.

From is a verb, or derived from one; as we see by the Swedish and Danish languages, in which a derivative of this word signifies a stranger, from the sense of departure; Danish *frem*, forward; *fremmer*, to promote.

Among is from a verb. Sax. *gemangan*. D. and G. *mengen*, to mix; the original sense of which is to stir, a sense very far from *place* or *rest*.

Over is undoubtedly the Oriental *abhar*, to pass.

Through is from the same radix as *door*, and from some verb signifying to pass.

Beyond is a compound of *be*, *by*, and Saxon *geond*, from *go*, *gone*.

With is from a common verb in the Gothic; *withan*, or with the common prefix, *ga-withan*, to join; and in the Gothic often denoted *towards* or *motion*, of which Lye gives examples.

At, in English, would at first seem to denote *place* or *station*; but in other languages it is the sign of the infinitive, equivalent to *to*, and probably is from the Hebrew and Chaldean verb *athá*, signifying to come. Both *at* and *to* primarily denoted *approach*.

Several of the Greek prepositions we know to be verbs, or derivatives from verbs; as, *παρά*, *πρός*, *μετά*.

I am not about to enter into a critical examination of the *Historical View*, but will notice one other particular.

The writer, speaking of the Sanscrit, writes: "If the theme or ground-form (of nouns) ends in *r*, the termination *s* is omitted, and also *r* of the theme is cast off;" and for examples, he specifies *brata*, from *bratar*, brother, and *pita*, from *pitar*, father.

I do not understand the Sanscrit, and know not what evidence there is, that *s* ever belonged to these words. But the origin of these words is known and certain. In the Belgic, or Dutch, the word *brother*, is *broeder*, from *broeden*, to brood. The word then signifies one of the brood, or breed, and is formed from the verb with the common termination *er*, from Saxon *wer*, Lat. *vir*, a man. If *s* is in the Sanscrit at all, it is not in the radix, theme, or ground-form of any other language. The reader may see the word in ten or twelve languages cited in my quarto dictionary.

A similar remark may be made respecting *pitar*, father. In regard to this word, we have clear and decisive evidence of the true origin, still existing in the Gothic dialects. It is from a verb which signifies to generate, and to feed; and is

formed from the verb by the termination, *er*. The letter *s* is not in any of the dozen languages which I have cited in my dictionary, unless it is in the Sanscrit, and of this I have not the slightest evidence.

The relations of nouns and adjectives to other words, may be denoted by different terminations, or by prepositions.

The Sanscrit, Gothic, or Teutonic, Greek, and Latin languages, all of one family, for the most part, have different terminations for their cases. Our mother tongue, the Anglo-Saxon, has them; but we have lost all, except that of the genitive or possessive case. In English, therefore, we use chiefly prepositions. But there is no mystery in the use of different words or terminations to express common actions; as, to move or send *to*, or *towards*, or to move or send *from*. Language is the work of common sense, and not of metaphysics.

N. WEBSTER.

REMARKS.

It is ever a satisfaction to have our labors attract the attention of those who are able to appreciate their value. It is in this case highly gratifying to have our philological lucubrations noticed by one so distinguished in this branch as Dr. Webster.

We had said, that "most prepositions primarily denoted place;" "that the most simple relation of place is that of rest in a place, or the answer to the question *where*?" while "the idea of place combined with that of motion gives rise to three relations: the place *whence*, the place *whither*, and the place *by* or *through which*."

Dr. Webster has favored us with the etymology of eight English prepositions, viz., *by*, from a verb signifying *to go* or *pass*; *for*, from a verb denoting *to go* or *advance*; *from*, from a verb having the sense of *departure*; *among*, from a verb originally signifying *to stir*; *over*, from a Shemitish verb signifying *to pass*; *through*, from some verb *to pass*; *beyond*, from Sax. *geond*, signifying *go*, *gone*; *with*, from a verb signifying *motion*; *at* and *to*, which primarily denoted *approach*.

As every preposition which Dr. Webster has adduced, originally denoted, according to his own principles, *motion* or *change of place*, they most abundantly confirm, if his derivation is correct, the remark which we casually made, that "most prepositions primarily denoted place."

We had said, that the nominative case in Sanscrit ends regularly in *s*; but "if the theme ends in *r*, the termination *s* is omitted, and also *r* of the theme cast off; as, *brâtâ*, from theme *brâtar*, a brother; *pitâ*, from theme *pitar*, a father." We had remarked, also, in reference to the Zendish, the Greek, and the Latin, that although the nominative in these languages ends regularly in *s*, yet this *s* is omitted in themes in *r*. In other words, the *s* is not written where, according to general principles, we might have expected it.

Dr. Webster refers us to his dictionary, where he has given us ten or twelve forms of the words, *brother*, *father*, none of which have the termination *s*.

Here, again, he has most abundantly confirmed the very proposition which we set out to establish. For the remarkable fact which we were attempting to elucidate, was this, that while the nominative of nouns in Sanscrit, Zendish, Greek, and Latin, regularly ends in *s*, yet in respect to themes in *r*, the nominative ending *s* is omitted, thus showing a wonderful accordance in these several languages.

ART. VI.—ANIMAL MAGNETISM.

Report on the Magnetical Experiments made by the Commission of the Royal Academy of Medicine, of Paris, read in the meetings of June 21st and 28th, 1831; by M. HUSSON, the reporter. Translated from the French, and preceded with an Introduction; by CHARLES POYEN ST. SAUVEUR. Boston: D. K. Hitchcock, 1836.

IN inquiring into the truth of any extraordinary statements relative to matters of fact, it becomes important, that we understand properly the principles which should guide us in the examination. Ignorance or wrong apprehension of the nature of these principles, leads, of course, to wrong results, and is the source of those opposite but equally prejudicial faults,—scepticism and credulity.

One great and fundamental principle lies at the foundation of all philosophy, all science, all knowledge, (except of bare existence.) Unless we admit *the uniformity of the course of nature*, or *the existence of fixed laws regulating the succession of events*, we cannot proceed a single step in the investigation even of the simplest truth. To commence an inquiry, is to suppose, that there are objects having fixed properties, and

changes regulated by permanent laws. However entangled in the labyrinths of a difficult and obscure subject; however perplexed with contradictory testimony, or apparently conflicting facts; however wearied with protracted and fruitless investigation; we should never lose sight of this important and fundamental truth,—that the laws of nature are unchangeable,—are never superseded, never violated.* If we abandon this principle, even for a moment, merely for the sake of saving labor, or extricating ourselves from present embarrassment, we shall find, that we have abandoned the only route which can conduct to truth,—that we have yielded up a principle which is the foundation of all useful knowledge, and involved ourselves in the mazes of error, contradiction, and absurdity.

Though it is admitted, that the world is governed by fixed laws, yet, if it is not allowed, that the human faculties are adequate to ascertain these laws, the truth is to us without value. While it should not be forgotten, that the laws of nature, as apparent to the human mind, and as they exist in reality, are not necessarily coincident or identical truths; it must not be denied, that we may often know these laws infallibly. Though our senses are liable to deceive us, and testimony is sometimes false; yet, if we properly guard ourselves against deception, they are, notwithstanding, worthy of all confidence, and the knowledge derived from them deserves the name of certainty. We know, for instance, that lead will melt when exposed to a certain degree of heat; that common salt is soluble in water, etc.; and it is impossible for us to doubt the evidence, that informs us of these facts. So strong is our conviction of our fully understanding the course of nature in these respects, that we instantly reject any account of an occurrence which, either directly or by necessary implication, denies these facts; so confident are we, such an account must involve a mistake, that we never wait to examine its claims to belief, before rejecting it. We not only reject the testimony of our friends, but we even accuse our own senses of falsehood, when they affirm, that lead will not melt, or, indeed, when they

* Throughout these remarks, we have reference to inquiries instituted on purely physical principles, and for physical ends,—to cases in which there is no adequate *moral* reason to suppose a miraculous interference or supernatural agency. The Deity, certainly, can suspend his own laws; but we can conceive of no possible mode of proving this suspension, and no ground even for suspecting it, in the absence of some powerful moral reason to render it *probable*.

contradict any established law of nature. If a witness, however credible, declares to us, that he has exposed lead to the requisite degree of heat, without its becoming fluid, we at once tell him, that he has been deceived; that the substance which he has supposed lead, was not lead; that the heat which he made use of, was less intense than he imagined; that he has dreamed, or, at any rate, is mistaken; and we tell him so, confidently, without waiting to satisfy ourselves wherein lies the fallacy. In all such cases, we decide on the strength of our knowledge of the laws of nature alone; and the man who requires us to suspend our judgment, when the reality of this knowledge, or the permanency of these laws, is brought in question, on the ground, that we should examine and detect the source of error before deciding, requires that which he is not authorized to do. He may talk about indubitable facts, the evidence of the senses, the rules of induction, etc., as much as he pleases; but we cannot credit his statement. It is true, he may puzzle us with his evidence. He may bring others to corroborate his testimony. If he is an ingenious man, and we undertake to discuss the matter with him, he may, perhaps, involve us in a labyrinth of intricacies and difficulties; but we can never yield a rational faith to his report, after all. The utmost, that conflicting testimony can do, in such a case, is, to place the mind in a state of suspense, perhaps of amazement. We wonder at that which seems to be a contradiction, but we are not convinced.

In reference to the laws of the human system, they are in general more complicated, and farther removed from observation, than those which govern inanimate matter. The powers and capacities of this system have engaged the attention of the greatest philosophers for ages; but they are very far, even yet, from being accurately determined. The limits between the possible and the impossible have, in many cases, not been defined; hence the practical conclusion which has often been adopted, that there are no limits,—that every thing is possible which comes supported by ordinary evidence. With regard to physiological facts, the world at large has been in the habit of admitting almost anything which it has been inconvenient to examine, or which has served to gratify the love of the marvelous. Such facts, or alledged facts, have been received on a degree of evidence which would have insured their instant rejection in physical science. Consequently, the world is full of wonders, mysteries, supernatural events, and all sorts of strange and incredible things, said to have occurred in the

organic history of certain individuals. So great is the credulity of the public relative to the powers of the living system, that we should regard its opinion and its statements relative to these powers, with peculiar suspicion. Indeed, such is the intrinsic difficulty attendant on inquiries of the sort under consideration, that we should conduct them with something like an enlightened scepticism, even when our own senses are the witnesses; much more, when our evidence is derived from the testimony of others. Would we not mistake appearances for reality, loose statements for indubitable fact, we must scrutinize, re-examine, and cross-examine.

Though the laws which govern the human system are complex, and sometimes remote from observation, it should not be forgotten, that they are fixed and uniform, notwithstanding. Neither should it be forgotten, that these laws are, many of them, definitely ascertained, and the limits between the possible and impossible accurately known. We know, for instance, that in man, the eye is the organ of vision, the auditory apparatus the organ of hearing, etc.; that men cannot see without light, or hear without the presence of a vibrating body, etc. These are facts which we know so perfectly, that we need not hesitate to reject at once any account which either affirms or supposes the contrary. In such a case, we need not stop to determine the credibility of witnesses; it would be an unnecessary waste of time. In order to pronounce on their report, it is sufficient once to have learned that invariable law of nature, which assigns and limits the power of vision to a visual organ, etc.; knowing, that he who asserts the contrary, asserts what cannot, in the nature of things, be true. Therefore, when animal magnetists talk to us of persons under the magnetic influence, who can see without eyes, or who can see, smell, and taste, by the pit of the stomach,—who can see through absolutely opaque substances, or who can foretell future events in the way of prophecy, etc.; we must take the liberty of doubting their veracity. We must tell them, that they are incompetent or careless observers, or have lively imaginations, or have been ignorantly duped, or are designing men. The facts which they deny, the principles which they would overthrow, are too firmly established to be shaken by any amount of testimony which we can conceive it possible to adduce. If we do not know positively, that that very curious instrument called the eye, and that ethereal medium termed light, are necessary to the perception of visual objects, we certainly do not know anything,—we must give up all

pretension to *knowledge*. There is nothing certain, nothing fixed. We can place no confidence in our senses, none in the conclusions of the understanding, none in the universal experience of men, none in the most familiar supposed laws of nature. Reason can discover no safe ground on which to found an argument. The mind can find no rest but in universal scepticism. If the facts under consideration are not facts, but assumptions, and may therefore be disproved; it may hereafter be proved, that fire will not burn,—that lead is not heavy,—that gold is not yellow,—that the testimony of our own eyes, and the united experience of the whole world, is of no worth,—that life is a dream, and man a shadow. If a person can see without eyes or without light, or read sealed letters placed on the pit of the stomach, as magnetic somnambulists are affirmed to do; he may breathe without lungs, or walk without legs, or fly without support. Unless, then, animal magnetists will show us some sufficient reason why the Deity should interfere in their favor, to suspend the laws which he has established, we cannot credit their report. We cannot even go into an examination of their statements, except it is understood, that we do it not for the purpose of establishing our belief, but to gratify curiosity.

It is not because we place a low estimate on the value of human testimony, that we discard it when opposed to the known laws of nature. When multiplied and uniform, we have the greatest possible confidence in it, as shown by our hearty belief in the permanency of those laws which have been established by it. Because we have a firm reliance on the experience of the whole world in all ages, we reject, as impossible, and therefore incredible, all such accounts as would prove this experience to be worthless and of no authority. When those who contend for vision by the pit of the stomach, will show us evidence in favor of that for which they contend, equal in amount, extent, and authority, to that which proves the eye the necessary organ of this sense, we will receive their report, and believe, or profess to believe, in what may be relied on as an impossibility.

We know it may be contended, in opposition to what has been said, that *facts* are always of supreme and ultimate authority, whatever their tendency, and whatever principles they may contradict. Though we would say nothing to impair the authority of one order of facts, we must still be allowed to contend stoutly for another order, resting on ample and unquestionable evidence, which no opposing testimony must

be permitted to overthrow. We must be allowed to maintain, that some facts may be and have been perfectly established, and that when so established, they cannot be disproved; that the testimony which denies them is not to be credited, and cannot be true; that he who affirms the contrary, affirms, that the laws of nature are not uniform, and are not to be trusted, thereby opposing a fundamental principle of human belief. We are aware of all that is said, and much that is justly said, about human fallibility, the uncertainty of knowledge, the limited nature of our faculties, and the modesty, that becomes honest inquirers after truth; but we have, notwithstanding, a firm and unalterable conviction, that there are such things as stability and certainty in the world; that there are some things which we may *know*, as well as many others which we can only conjecture; that our Creator has endowed us with capacities fully adequate to investigate and to reach some kinds of *truth*. In one word, human knowledge is something more and better than shrewd guessing, or a mere balancing of probabilities.

We have thus far detained our readers, for the purpose of giving due consideration to some principles deemed of the utmost importance in commencing an inquiry like that before us,—principles which, though universally acknowledged in the ordinary occurrences of life, are frequently misunderstood or disregarded, in unfamiliar and extraordinary cases like the present. On the strength of well-known and admitted principles, we are able to convict animal magnetists of error, either ignorant or willful, even before we have examined the substance of their report. We are thus placed on our guard against farther error. When a man's story is proved to contain a capital blunder or mis-statement at the outset, we are very properly led to regard with distrust his whole account. In the detailed examination which is to follow, we shall find that which a sound philosophy and an enlightened judgment would prepare us to expect. Where a plain impossibility is affirmed, we shall find the fact asserted expressly denied; or we shall be able to discover numerous sources of possible mistake, and abundant reason for adhering still more closely, if possible, to ascertained principles. Indeed, where improbabilities only are declared by magnetizers, and the declaration backed by the authority of the report before us, we shall be able to search out ways in which difficulties may be explained, without supposing anything very wonderful, or, at least, without supposing any addition to a modification of those physio-

logical laws which have long been supposed to govern the living movements, and without even supposing dishonesty or design in the witnesses. In short, we shall find, that the extravagant claims of Animal Magnetism are not supported by facts. Indeed, we shall see, that even the document before us, though comparatively modest in its announcement of magnetic wonders, is still too liberal in its admissions and dispensations of the marvelous, and is, therefore, as might be expected, open to objections of the gravest kind. In our examination of its claims, we shall meet with much careless observation, vague statement, loose reasoning, and hasty inference.

In the remarks which follow, we propose to confine our attention chiefly to the work placed at the head of this article; believing, that if the comparatively moderate pretensions set forth in this work are, for the most part, too extravagant and improbable to be true, those accounts which pretend to far more, on no better evidence, are hardly worthy of serious regard.

ANIMAL MAGNETISM is defined to be a particular state of the nervous system, in which certain physiological phenomena, hitherto unknown, present themselves,—a state ordinarily produced by the *will* or urgent desire of the magnetizer, sometimes assisted by certain “manual evolutions.” This state is supposed to be brought about by the immediate agency of a fluid or emanation passing from one individual into another, and moved and directed by the power of the will. In proof of this *emanation*, it is mentioned, that the magnetizer, after operating, *feels* as though he had met with some *loss*. M. Poyen says he “always feels a great weakness, fatigue, and want of reparation and rest, in consequence of the act [of magnetizing] he has performed.”

The advocates of Animal Magnetism pretend to trace their science (for such they term it) among the nations of antiquity,—the Egyptians, Jews, Greeks, Romans, etc. All those extraordinary *cures* which in former times were attributed to touching, breathing, imposition of hands, amulets, exorcism, witchcraft, etc., and which, at a later period, have been ascribed to imitation, superstition, imagination, etc., have been accounted for on the supposition of a magnetic influence. However, it was not until the time of Mesmer, that magnetism attracted much notice. Mesmer, who was a German, after having made many experiments and acquired some fame in his own country, and written a book containing an account of his system, arrived at Paris in 1778, and announced his dis-

coveries to the *savans* of France. Soon Deslon, a physician of some note, became a convert, and associated himself with him in the practice of magnetism. It was now, that *Mesmerism* rose rapidly into notice and favor, and even awakened a grave interest in the minds of philosophers and men of learning. As a consequence of the general excitement on the subject, the king appointed a commission to inquire into the merits of Mesmer's alledged discoveries, and to make a report thereon. As members of this commission, we find the illustrious names of Franklin, Bailly, Darcet, and Lavoisier. Their report, considered as a masterly production, was thought to have settled forever the claims of Animal Magnetism, and to have proved its founder a bold, though successful mountebank. The following is an account of the magnetical operation :

‘In the centre of the room was placed a vessel of an oval or circular shape, about four feet in diameter and one deep. In this were laid a number of bottles, disposed in radii, with their necks directed outwards, well corked and filled with magnetized water. This vessel was termed the *baquet*. From its cover, which was pierced with many holes, issued long, thin, moveable rods of iron, which could be applied by the patients to the affected parts. Besides, to the ring of the cover was attached a cord, which, when the patients were seated in a circle, was carried round them all, so as to form a chain of connection ; a second chain was formed by the union of their hands, and it was recommended, that they should sit so close as that those adjoining should touch by their knees and feet, which was supposed wonderfully to facilitate the passage of the magnetic fluid. In addition to this, the magnetists went round, placed themselves *en rapport* [in communication] with the patients, embraced them between their knees, and gently rubbed them down along the course of the nerves, using gentle pressure over different regions of the chest and abdomen.

The house which Mesmer inhabited was delightfully situated ; his rooms spacious and sumptuously furnished ; stained glass and colored blinds shed a dim, religious light ; mirrors gleamed at intervals along the walls ; a mysterious silence was preserved ; delicate perfumes floated in the air, and occasionally the melodious sounds of the pinano-forte, the harmonica, or the voice, came to lend their aid to his magnetic powers.’*

The magician himself was clothed in a long flowing robe of lilac-colored silk, richly embroidered with golden flowers. He carried in his hand a white wand, moved about with an air of gravity and authority, and seemed the animating and control-

* Foreign Quarterly Review, for October, 1833.

ing spirit of the scene. Those who were waiting for the magnetic influence first began to yawn and stretch, then to cough and spit. Some experienced slight nervous tremors, sometimes ending in frightful and long-continued convulsions, accompanied with shrieks, tears, hiccough, and immoderate laughter. When these symptoms began to appear in one, they manifested themselves in many others in quick succession. This convulsive state was called *crisis*.

The report of the king's commission was made in 1784. It checked very seriously the spread of Mesmerism. This took refuge, however, in M. de Puysegur, a man of rank and wealth, who made a new discovery, esteemed of very great importance,—*magnetical somnambulism*,—and added it to the system. Among the extraordinary faculties which the state of somnambulism developed, may be named that of *clairvoyance*, or the power of seeing with the eyes closed and bandaged, etc., etc.; *prévision*, or the power of discovering, in unusual ways, the disorders of one's self and others, prescribing the proper remedies for them, predicting their course and their mode and time of termination, etc. A still more wonderful faculty unfolded by this state was the power of seeing, smelling, etc., with the pit of the stomach,—a fact which the magnetists called the *transport of the senses*.

During the period of the French Revolution, and immediately subsequent, Animal Magnetism was nearly forgotten. Since that period, however, it has been steadily coming into notice again. Among those who have written, with some reputation, in its support, are Deleuze, Bertrand, Dupotet, Rostan, Georget, etc.

We now come to the work placed at the head of this article. And in the first place we have something to say of the translator and the original portion of the book.

M. Poyen came to this country, (if we are not mistaken,) about a year or two since, and made himself known in New England as a practitioner and expounder of Animal Magnetism. He was probably ignorant of the New England character, or he would have chosen a different part of our land as the first scene of his labors. We are accounted a frigid, suspicious, sensible, selfish people, accustomed to "calculate" even in matters of imagination; and this is said of us in spite of the wide-spread and everlastingly-repeated story about "the Salem Witchcraft." However, M. Poyen has had *some* success, even with us, if rumor is to be trusted. We have heard of some wonderful magnetic operations of his in

the neighborhood of Boston, and somewhere in Rhode Island.

We cannot say much for M. Poyen's qualifications as a translator. Though he claims to have employed a friend and scholar to correct his manuscript with the greatest care, his translation still contains much very bad English. He pleads, however, in extenuation, that he is a foreigner, "and has been acquainted with the English language but twenty-two months,"—a fact which certainly accounts for his own blunders, but not for those of his "intelligent friend." By the way, we are astonished at the hardihood of a man who attempts to translate into our language on so short an acquaintance with it as twenty-two months!

As for M. Poyen's *original* English, exhibited in his Introduction, containing seventy-one pages, it is very much worse than the translation, and, most clearly, has not had the poor benefit of a friend's revision.

M. Poyen is of course thorough-going in advocating the claims of Animal Magnetism. Among the strange things which he mentions as having fallen under his own observation, is the case of a lady, "who saw, heard, and smelt very well by the pit of the stomach;" who "was able to see a great way off, through the walls, and foretold what was to happen at many day's interval;" who "prescribed remedies for herself, announced in what manner and at what time she would cure," etc. "Every thing [of course] took place according to her predictions."

It may throw some light on the subject before us, to mention a few of the conditions on which it is said the magnetic influence may be transmitted. It is stated by M. Deleuze, a writer of the highest authority on this subject, that "the exercise of magnetism requires,—an active desire to do good,—a firm belief in its power,—an entire confidence in employing it." M. Poyen says, the "magnetical power can be obtained and exercised on the condition only of using it for the good of the patient;" that this power is efficient in proportion as its possessor is "animated with charity," etc. This fact is adduced as a satisfactory answer to those who object to animal magnetism on the ground, that it may be made use of to gain an improper influence over certain individuals,—to corrupt the minds and morals of females, for instance, and to injure the cause of religion. So far from being dangerous to society, and to religion, M. Poyen declares, that it "disposes hearts to

christian feelings," and that "many men of worth have been converted to christianity by its exercise."

In order to magnetize successfully, the very respectable Deleuze (as the French commission call him) directs as follows :

‘Imagine that it is in your power to take the malady into your hand, and throw it aside.—Allow your patients at the same time to use proper remedies.—Never magnetize before inquisitive persons.’

As a cure for scepticism on the subject under consideration, the same author gives the following recipe :

‘Forget for a time all your knowledge of physics and metaphysics ; remove from your mind all objections that may occur.’

And that the cure may be permanent, obedience is required to the following injunction : “Do not reason for six weeks after you have commenced the study.” We should think this prescription might be tolerably successful.

We next proceed to the far-famed and much lauded Report of the French commission.

“More than five years have elapsed,” says the report, “since a young physician, M. Foissac, whose zeal and talent of observation we had frequent opportunities to judge, thought proper to call the attention of the Academy to the phenomena of Animal Magnetism,” and “proposed to submit to its examination a ‘*somnambule*,’ who seemed to throw light upon a question, that many sound minds in France and Germany considered as far from being resolved.”

In consequence of this movement on the part of M. Foissac, and after considerable discussion, the Academy “decided, that a special commission should be appointed to examine anew the phenomena of Animal Magnetism.” This commission was composed of Messrs. Bourdois, Double, Fouquier, Itard, Gueneau de Mussy, Guersent, Husson, Leroux, Magendie, Marc, and Thillaye,—names of considerable eminence in science. MM. Magendie and Double, however, declined acting ; we are not told for what reason.

Before giving a detailed account of the experiments made in prosecution of their inquiry, the commission make a statement regarding their mode of investigation, and then some general remarks on what they did not witness, as well as what they did. We will quote their own words :

‘We think it a duty to tell you, that what we saw in our experiments resembles by no means all that the report of 1784 relates of the mag-

netizers of that time. We neither admit nor reject the existence of a fluid ; we speak neither of the *baquet*, nor of the rod, of the chain which was established, causing the magnetized individuals to communicate by the hands, nor of the pressures a long time continued, and sometimes so during several hours upon the hypochondriac region, and the abdomen ; nor of the singing and instrumental music which accompanied the magnetical operations ; nor of the meeting of a great number of persons who had themselves magnetized in the presence of a crowd of witnesses ; because our experiments were made in the most perfect calm, the most absolute silence, without any accessory means, never by an immediate contact, and at every time upon a single person only.

We do not mention that which, at the time of Mesmer, was so improperly called crisis, and consisted in convulsions, in laughter, sometimes immoderate; in inexhaustible tears, piercing cries ; because we never met those various phenomena.'

The following passage contains a statement of what they saw in relation to the mode of magnetizing :

'The person who was to be magnetized, was placed in the sitting position, on a convenient sofa, or upon a chair. The magnetizer, sitting on a little higher seat, before his face, and at about a foot distant, recollects himself a few moments, during which he holds the thumb of the patient, and remains in this position until he feels that the same degree of heat is established between the thumbs of that person and his own. Then he draws off his hands in turning them outwards, and places them upon the shoulders for nearly one minute. Afterwards he carries them down slowly, by a sort of friction, very light, along the arms, down to the extremities of the fingers,—he begins again the same motion five or six times ; it is what the magnetizers call *passes*. Then he passes his hands over the head, keeps them there a few moments, brings them down in passing before the face, at the distance of one or two inches, to the epigastrium, where he stops again, either in bearing upon that region, or without touching it with his fingers. And he thus comes down slowly along the body to the feet. These *passes*, or motions, are repeated during the greater part of the course, and when he wishes to finish it, he carries them even beyond the extremities of the hands and feet, in shaking his fingers at each time. Finally, he performs before the face and the chest some transversal motions, at the distance of three or four inches, in presenting his two hands, put near one another, and in removing them abruptly. At other times he brings near together the fingers of each hand, and presents them at three or four inches distant from the head or the stomach, in leaving them in that position for one or two minutes ; then, alternately drawing them off, and bringing them near those parts, with more or less quickness, he imitates the motion that we naturally execute when we wish to get rid of a liquid which met the extremity of our fingers.

These various modes were followed in all our experiments, without adhering to one rather than to the other,—often using but one, sometimes two; and we never were directed in the choice that we made of them, by the idea, that one mode would produce a quicker and better marked effect than another. The commission will not follow in the enumeration of the facts it has observed, the order of times when each of them was produced; we thought it more convenient, and, above all, more rational, to present them to you, classed according to the degree, more or less decided, of the magnetical action that it recognized in each of them.

Therefore, we have established four divisions, as follows :

1. The effects of magnetism are not manifested upon healthy persons, and certain other patients.
2. They are but feebly manifested upon some others.
3. They are often the product of *ennui*, monotony, and imagination.
4. Finally, they have been seen developed independently of these last causes, very probably by the effect of magnetism alone.'

Among the *first class* of persons who became subjects of the magnetical experiments, or those in whom no effect was produced, were several members of the commission, Gueneau de Mussy, Bourdois, and the reporter, Husson. Bourdois, however, "felt the impression of the passage of fingers upon his organs, as though they had been struck with a sudden blowing of warm air," which, it is afterwards mentioned, was considered as the commencement of the magnetical action.

Here it is proper to inquire, Why is it, that a man must be out of health, in order to be susceptible of the magnetic influence? It is well known, that a person who is ill, almost of course has weak nerves, and a morbidly excitable imagination. But how happens it, that there is a necessary connection between this peculiar condition of the nervous system and the development of the magnetic phenomena, *provided* imagination has nothing to do with this development, as is sturdily asserted? The fact, that magnetists succeed best when the fancy is most active, and not at all when it is least so, affords, at least, presumptive evidence, that the fancy is the medium of operation; particularly, when it is considered, that their mode of operating is admirably adapted to act upon an excitable fancy, and not at all, so far as we can see, upon a sound man with his senses about him. The fact too, that certain mysterious motions of the hand are found necessary, on the part of the magnetist, in order to give full effect to his *volition*, (when it is contended, at the same time, that this volition is the *sole* agent of his power,) looks marvelously suspicious.

What can be the use of these motions, performed in *front* of the patient, if they do not contribute to the effect, by working on the imagination? It is not a satisfactory answer to this question to say, that the hands and fingers serve as *conductors* to the magnetic fluid. If they served this purpose and no other, why will it not do to act on the patient from *behind*? We hear of no instance of this mode of action, except in a few rather doubtful cases, in which the person had been previously acted upon in the usual way, and the imagination thereby worked up to the proper pitch of excitement.

By the way, Why is it, that a person must be repeatedly magnetized, before any remarkable magnetic effects are observed? The report tells us, it is not until after the eighth or tenth "*magnetical sitting*," that these effects become strongly marked. Why is this, unless the imagination has a hand in the matter? We can conceive how it happens, if the mind is the medium of influence, and requires to be excited by little and little, until it acquires the requisite degree of heat, and a proper control over the functions of the body.

Among the *second* class of persons, or those who exhibited the magnetical phenomena in a slight degree, the case of Theresa Ferlin is mentioned, who complained of pains in the abdomen and lower part of the back. She was magnetized at five different times. The frequency of the respiration was generally, and that of the pulse always, increased. She seemed to be afraid of the motions of the fingers and hands of the magnetizer, shrinking back from them. "She was visibly tormented." There were frequent sighing, "wrinkling and lowering of the eye-lids," [eye-brows?] rubbing of the nose, a frequent deglutition of the saliva, (motions which, in other magnetized persons, constantly preceded sleep,) and finally, a cure of the pain in the back. Several other more slightly marked cases are presented under this head.

Under the *third* head are classed "effects produced by tiredness, monotony, and imagination." Several persons, afflicted with various diseases, ammaurosis, leucorrhœa, hysteria, and epilepsy, were successfully magnetized, always with increasing effect at each successive "*magnetical sitting*." They exhibited the usual symptoms attributed to magnetism,—wrinkling of the brows, rubbing of the eyes, frequent deglutition, sudden inclination of the head, slight convulsive motions about the neck and face, and somnolency. After having been thus prepared to expect unusual effects under certain circumstances of position, monotony, silence, etc., it

was found, that the *expectation* alone, as induced by these circumstances, was sufficient to produce all the phenomena which before had resulted from the magnetical influence. In these instances, the subjects of the experiments supposed themselves magnetized, when they were not. Perhaps, even, the magnetizer was not present. Such are the effects ascribed, in certain cases, to "tiresomeness, monotony, and imagination."

Here are effects exactly resembling the magnetic action, admitted to be the product of excited imagination, etc. They satisfactorily prove a very important fact, which some may be inclined to doubt, viz., that yawning, stretching, rubbing of the eyes, slight convulsive tremors, and a marked disposition to sleep, etc., *may* be the result of a strong and peculiar mental impression. And if these effects may be produced by causes acting on the mind in one case, why not in another?—why not in all the cases cited by the commission, in which the same phenomena were noticed, and the same method of operation observed, unless, indeed, the action of other causes can be proved?

It is in this connection, that the reporter, M. Husson, first exhibits himself as a *magnetizer*. He operated upon an epileptic person. "Sleep began to show itself at the fourth sitting;" "it was still sounder at the fifth." At the fifteenth sitting, the epileptic was placed "in the same circumstances in which he had found himself since the commencement of the experiments; the reporter puts himself behind his own chair, and the same phenomena of somnolence were manifested, although he had not magnetized him."

"The way to be convinced of the existence of animal magnetism," says M. Deleuze, "is to magnetize." And the way to magnetize, says the same authority, is to have "a firm belief in its power," and "an entire confidence in employing it." Whether the reporter magnetized for the sake of satisfying his doubts as to the truth of magnetism, or whether he magnetized because he already had "a firm belief in its power," we are not told. Very probably he may first have had the "firm belief," then the full possession of the "power," then the usual *penchant* for exercising it, and finally, a laudable desire of removing doubts! This, we take it, is the common mental process, in such cases.

To speak sober truth, however, we think the fact above stated of some interest. It shows, at least, that the commission had become pretty thoroughly *interested* in their subject, and

would therefore be likely to carry on the inquiry with the requisite spirit and perseverance, to say nothing of their impartiality.

Under the *fourth* division are described "effects very probably derived from magnetism alone." The first case mentioned under this head, is, that of a child twenty-eight months of age, who was magnetized by M. Foissac :

'Almost immediately after the passes had begun, the child rubbed his eyes, bent his head on one side, leaned it upon one of the cushions of the sofa upon which he was sitting, gaped, agitated himself, scratched his head and ears, appeared to struggle against sleep, which seemed to pervade him, and soon rose in murmuring.'

This case, together with that of a deaf and dumb epileptic person, who, during the magnetical operation, felt "numbness, the need of sleep, and even sometimes some vertigo," are considered instances of true magnetical excitement, because the subjects of experiment "were perfectly ignorant of what was done to them," and because the effect, in the opinion of the commission, could not, from the nature of the case, be attributed to imagination.

Now as to the case of the child, (the only instance of operation on a *child*, be it remembered, with which we are presented in the report,) we see no need of a new agent, called the magnetic fluid, to account for the effects observed. It certainly is not strange, that a child, twenty-eight months old, placed in the circumstances described, and surrounded by silence and grave faces, should yawn, scratch his head, appear sleepy, and finally murmur, and run away. Besides, he may have been, for aught that appears, half asleep when placed in the chair ; or, his mind may have been stupified by disease, (an uniform effect of long continued epilepsy,) and the principle of curiosity thereby destroyed,—the only principle which would be likely to *prevent* sleep in the situation named. We are *not* told, that the child was not an idiot,—a not unnecessary bit of information to *us*, mere readers, three thousand miles distant. Why do not the commission give us details ? Especially, why did they not repeat the experiment ? or, if they did so, why are we not presented with the result ? A proper course of experiments made upon this child, (had he been a fair subject for experiment,) would have gone farther towards settling the question between Animal Magnetism and its opponents, than all the other facts presented in the report ; for his is the only case, so far as we can see, in which imagination,

in its proper sense, collusion, and trick, are out of the question. If the mind is not the medium of the magnetic influence, we can perceive no reason why a child should not be affected by this influence, as readily as the adult; none why he should not be a perfectly fair subject on which might be tested decisively the reality of Animal Magnetism. We should be willing to abide the result of such testing. Can animal magnetists say as much?

As to the deaf and dumb person, who is considered as necessarily "ignorant of what was done to him," we have yet to learn, that such a person is, *of course*, without eyes, or destitute of imagination. If "monotony, ennui, and imagination," were sufficient to produce a sound sleep, exactly resembling the magnetic, in the epileptic person which the reporter *pretended* to magnetize, why were they not adequate to produce the comparatively trifling effects observed in this deaf mute? In order to determine the power of monotony, etc., why was not the same artifice attempted upon the latter, which was so successfully tried upon the former? Again, how do we know, that this person, even though "deaf and dumb," did not conspire with his magnetizer to deceive the commission? It is true, the report says, he "never had the least idea of magnetism;" but it does not tell us whether the proper steps were taken to ascertain this fact, or whether, from the nature of the case, it was impossible he should have such an idea, or whether his ignorance was only affirmed by himself or his magnetizer.

The next person magnetized was M. Itard, a member of the commission. The magnetic phenomena observed were still more striking. There were "some drowsiness without sleep, a sensible excitement of the nerves of the face, some convulsive motions in the nostrils, the muscles of the face and jaws, an afflux in his mouth of a saliva with a metallic taste, a sensation similar to that which he had felt by galvanism." At a subsequent sitting, he was relieved of "severe pains of his head." With regard to the influence of imagination in this case, the commission ask triumphantly, "Could we suspect it with propriety and reason, in the observation we have related concerning M. Itard?" Not having the honor of a personal acquaintance with M. Itard, we cannot appreciate the force of this appeal.

We are next presented with several cases designed to illustrate a new effect of magnetism, to wit, *Somnambulism*,—a state which succeeds the simple magnetical sleep, and which

indicates a more intense magnetical action. During this state, it is said, the magnetized person exhibits many extraordinary phenomena. He hears no voice but that of the magnetizer, and those who have been placed in communication with him by means of contact. He obeys, in every thing, the "will strongly moved inwardly," of him from whom he derives his magnetic powers. He sees with his eyes bandaged, or, as some say, behind his head, or by the pit of the stomach. He discovers the nature and seat of his own diseases, and those of others, and points out their true remedies. He foretells the course which his malady may take, the precise time when it will return upon him, or take its final leave, etc.

Mlle. Delaplane, sixteen years old, "affected with an obstruction," was magnetized by M. Dupotet, and fell asleep at the end of eight minutes :

'We speak to her, she answers not ; we cast on the floor before her a tin-blower, she remains in a complete immobility,—a glass flask is broken with violence, and she awakes suddenly. At the second sitting, she answers by affirmative and negative signs of the head, to the question addressed to her.'

At the third, she promised to tell the nature and seat of her disease in two or three days. She was so severely pinched as to produce ecchymosis, (effusion of blood under the skin,) and gave no signs of sensibility. She never afterwards spoke of her disease, as she promised to do, though she was magnetized several times.

Mlle. Martineau, aged nineteen, was magnetized by M. Dupotet fifteen times, and commenced sleeping at the second sitting. In her sleep, she indicated, that she should not recover, (she was laboring under a chronic affection of the stomach,) until she was purged. She prescribed for herself manna and some English pills. No manna was given, but instead of it, four *bread* pills, which purged her four times :

'She said once, that she should awake after five minutes, at another time, after ten minutes of sleep ; and she awoke only after seventeen and sixteen minutes. She announced, that at such a day she would give us some details about the nature of her complaint. The day arrived, and she said nothing. Finally, at every time she was found in fault.'

A milliner was magnetized by M. de Geslin, and was then commanded by him *mentally* to "go and sit on the cricket which stands in front of the piano." She arose and seated

herself before the clock, and said it was twenty minutes past nine. When told, that was not what was asked of her, she entered the next apartment. The back of a watch was presented, and she was asked the time. She answered, "thirty-five minutes past nine o'clock," while it was but seven o'clock. She was placed in contact with M. Gueneau, and told him concerning his health things altogether false. She made many other errors of a similar kind, and, in fact, kept none of the promises which her magnetizer had made respecting her.

Some other cases are presented, which do little credit to the *science* of magnetism—cases designed by the reporters to illustrate the more imperfect forms of the magnetical action, and to introduce, by degrees, what is supposed to be a more perfect species of the same. To us, such cases appear not like incomplete forms of somnambulism, but like very plain instances of attempted imposition, and nothing more, and we can only wonder, that the commission did not regard them as such. They prove, the report allows, that somnambulists may err as well as other persons—may think they know positively, when they only have an obscure impression; but not a doubt is suggested about their being genuine cases of somnambulism. We marvel at the credulity of M. Husson and his associates, and we can only account for the easiness and extent of their belief, on the supposition, that they had, as operators and as subjects of experiment, become deeply and dangerously interested in the study; or that they had adopted too implicitly, perhaps unwittingly, the precepts of the "respectable" M. Deleuze; that they had, in reality, "forgotten for a time all their knowledge of physics and metaphysics;" or obeyed too literally the injunction, "Do not reason for six weeks after you commence the study."

There is one fact, that seems to have been carelessly mentioned, contained in the above account of Mlle. Martineau, which should be remembered. It shows, (what physicians knew before,) that the *expectation* of a certain organic effect is of itself often sufficient to bring about that effect. If *bread* pills purged four times, because they were supposed to contain physic, the imagination is capable of working on the body, or, it may be, of curing diseases, to an extent that the French commission seem never to have dreamed.

The report next adduces some facts to illustrate the alledged power of the magnetizer to produce *convulsive emotions* in any particular part of the body by the approach of the fingers. Several cases of failure are first brought forward,—

cases in which the magnetizer had pledged himself to prove this wondrous power. In the attempt to redeem this pledge, one Chamet was produced, well-prepared, we presume, for the experiment. After being put to sleep, M. Dupotet, the operator, "stretched a finger pointedly towards his; nay, he approached them with a metallic stem, and no convulsive effect was produced." However, on repeating the experiment, a slight motion was observed in *both* hands. An attempt was then made to "act upon the right fore-finger," "but it was the *left* one, and the leg of the same side, which entered into convulsion." At another time, several members of the commission operated, or pretended to operate, (we are not told which.) Sometimes there was a motion in the part towards which the finger was directed; sometimes in a distant part. Sometimes there was *pointing* of the finger without any motion, and at other times motion without any pointing of the finger, etc.

Thus far, the commission acknowledge, the thing to be proved was not made very clear. However, it is thought to be rendered sufficiently so by some subsequent experiments on another individual.

M. Petit was put to sleep by M. Dupotet. The commission then designated, by a written note, placed in the hands of the latter, the part they wished to see convulsed. The operator, having placed himself behind the magnetized person, directed his finger towards the left thigh, the left elbow, and the head, successively, and these parts "were almost instantaneously seized with convulsive motions. M. Dupotet directed his left leg towards that of the magnetized; this one agitated itself so much, that he came very near falling over." A variety of experiments of the same kind were made, sometimes at the distance of two feet, and always with the same effect. A handkerchief was placed over the eyes to prevent deception, but it did not alter the result.

As to the magnetical power supposed to be proved by these experiments, we have but a word or two to say. Sudden muscular contraction is a phenomenon which might be readily produced through a mental influence, or which might as readily result from a disposition to deceive. We can see but one objection to this supposition. Imagination and deception will be considered as disproved, on the ground, that the person magnetized had his eyes closed, or blinded with a handkerchief, and besides was placed with his *back* to the operator; sufficient reasons, it will be pleaded, why he should remain in ignorance of those motions of the experimenter, which he was so prompt to obey.

Though it is allowed, that these are tolerable reasons why a somnambulist should not see with his *eyes*, it may still be replied, that magnetists contend their patients can see without eyes,—that vision may take place by the pit of the stomach, or through the back of the head. It is but justice, however, to say, that the report before us does not assert this.

To show the great *insensibility* to ordinary impressions, which accompanies the magnetical sleep, the instance of the lady who was operated on for a cancer of the breast, by M. Cloquet, while in this state, is here mentioned. This operation (one of the most painful in surgery) is stated to have been performed without the slightest token of sensibility on the part of the patient. There was "no alteration either in the breathing or the voice; no motion in the limbs, the features, or even in the pulse, [no motion in the pulse ?] was manifested." This lady awoke two days after the operation, unconscious of what had happened. As she testified a lively emotion on finding out her situation, her magnetizer put her to sleep again, for fear of the consequences.

This is certainly a very remarkable case; but as the principal facts respecting it (as we understand the matter) rest on authority no less respectable than that of M. Cloquet, it will not, perhaps, be safe to question its truth. We cannot well understand how any woman, under any circumstances, could submit to have a cancerous breast extirpated, without manifesting symptoms of pain. There was room enough for trick and collusion, in this case, it is true. The attending physician was M. Chapelain, a professed magnetizer. He seems to have magnetized his patient repeatedly, and to have prepared her thoroughly for the operation. He had, doubtless, worked powerfully upon the woman's imagination; but how, by this means, he could have so blunted her sensibilities, or so strengthened her powers of self-control, or so interested her in a scheme for deception, or, in any of the ordinary ways, have brought about such a state of mind and body as would account for the alledged effects, is a question we dare not undertake to answer. However, did we know all the circumstances of the case, and all the wonder-working influences of an excited imagination, and the utmost extent to which dissimulation may go, we are disposed to think, that difficulties would disappear. As to the influence of the mind, we know, that a strong mental impression will vomit or purge; will occasion or relieve the most racking pains; will cause or cure diseases of the gravest kind; will even destroy life in-

stantaneously, or restore health when life has been despaired of. It will produce diseases in which the sensibility is increased indefinitely, or quite annihilated. It will nerve the moral and the physical man to do and to suffer the most astonishing and incredible things. All these wonders, a powerful moral emotion, of the proper kind, will sometimes accomplish; and who can say, that a particular kind of mental influence, acting in certain conditions of the system, and in conjunction with certain descriptions of disease, might not account for all that is said to have taken place in the woman with the cancerous breast? Females, in particular states of the nervous system, attendant on hysteria, catalepsy, etc., are accustomed to play all sorts of pranks. They often amuse, astonish, or frighten beholders beyond measure. We scarcely know of any limits to their devious and erratic movements. They cannot leap the bounds of possibility, but they seem to break over all other barriers.

We shall not, perhaps, have a better opportunity to notice some experiments instituted for the purpose of proving a new power claimed for somnambulists, called *clairvoyance*,—the power of seeing with the eyes closed or bandaged, or through other media than the eyes. M. Petit, of whom we have already spoken, was announced to possess the faculty. Having been put to sleep, a course of experiments were commenced, but they were attended with the customary disappointment. The sleeper made all sorts of blunders, mistaking pieces of money, the time of day, etc.

However, M. Petit was magnetized again, "and at this time the success was altogether according to M. Dupotet's promises." In the first place, his eyes were accurately closed, so that "the lids [lashes?] were crossing each other;" many persons, in the meantime, watching them with a light. He now read distinctly the titles of books, the address of a letter, a passport, a permit, etc. M. Bourdois, the president of the commission, presented him with a tobacco-box, with a device upon it. He recognized its meaning, and pointed out its several parts. He played dexterously and repeatedly a "hand of *piquet*," and won. He traced the lines of a closed letter, but he could not read the contents. Neither could he read a permit by looking at the blank side. "These experiments wearied M. Petit very much."

Paul Villegrand, whose name we shall mention again by and by, exhibited the faculty of *clairvoyance* in an equally marked degree. His eyes were accurately closed, and the

finger placed on the *commissure*, or line of contact of the lids. He then recognized the characters on several cards taken from a new pack placed in his hands. He read from a book opened at random and provided by the reporter. He also, at several times, read the words written by some one of the commission on bits of paper. During this time, the eye-ball was perceived to be in motion, "and seemed to direct itself towards the object submitted to the vision." "Paul tried, but in vain, to distinguish various cards applied on the epigastrium."

There are, beyond doubt, some cases of *somnambulism*, produced by disordered action in the brain, in which the sensibility to impressions of all kinds is wonderfully and almost incredibly increased. We are compelled to believe, that the power of vision, for instance, may be so astonishingly strengthened by certain kinds of cerebral and nervous excitement, that the eye may discern objects even by the help of that small quantity of light which is known to pass through the closed eye-lids, or through a bandage of many folds. At present, we will barely allude to the case of Jane C. Rider, the Springfield somnambulist,—a case which we design to notice in a future number of the *Spectator*. That the commission, in all their search after marvels and wonders, through a period of many years, and in a city containing nearly a million of inhabitants, may have come across some real somnambulists, whose fits were characterized by sundry extraordinary manifestations of natural powers, (not very rare cases, by the way,) we think very probable. Indeed, that they may have met with some such persons, whose fits were excited by the magnetic juggling to which they were exposed, we think not at all impossible. But that such juggling acted on any other principle than other exciting causes do, which, through the medium of the mind or body, kindle into instant action the latent energies of disease, we wholly deny. That the simple, unaided volition of any man, however energetic, can produce in another that peculiar state of the nervous system, which is known to be the sole cause of the kind of somnambulism under consideration, we do not believe; but that *disease* is adequate to this, seems to be ascertained. So much, then, of that part of the commission's report, as relates to the faculty of seeing through the closed eye-lids,—so much of it, we mean, as is *true*,—we are disposed to account for, not on the supposition of a peculiar influence, called the magnetic, but on the common principles by which we explain all extraordinary organic manifestations. Suppose we admit, that a faculty, or rather a

certain state of a faculty, like the one under consideration, (and which people may call "*clairvoyance*," if they choose,) may be developed by disease,—may be developed suddenly, by certain kinds or degrees of mental or corporeal excitement; we still can have no faith in any person's will, even though Mesmer himself were alive, to bring about such a thing. We believe, that the will, for very wise reasons, is limited, in its operations, to one's own mind and frame.

We now come to a case designed to illustrate the faculty of *prévision*,—the power of prediction in reference to one's own diseases. Paul Villegrand had a palsy of all the left side of the body, following a fit of apoplexy. After twenty-two months treatment with setons, moxa, pills of *nux vomica*, etc., he was still unable to walk without crutches, although much relieved. At this time, he had headache and partial deafness. In these circumstances, he was magnetized by M. Foissac. The pain in the head and imperfection of hearing immediately left him. At a later period, while in a state of somnambulism, he announced, that he should be cured only by magnetism, and prescribed for himself sinapisms, the bath, and a continuation of the *nux vomica*; adding, that with this treatment he should walk without crutches in three days. At the end of three days, he was magnetized, and did as he had promised, never again resuming his crutches. At a subsequent sitting, he declared, that he should be well in two months, and expressed a wish to be put and kept in a state of somnambulism during the eight days preceding the expiration of that time. His wish was complied with, and at the appointed time, he "walked and ran through the street, with a firm and assured step," declaring himself cured.

This case affords a specimen of the kind of evidence brought forward by the commission, to prove that astonishing faculty of somnambulists, called *prévision*. The case given, and another which we shall consider presently, are the only ones relied on for this purpose. We marvel, that a committee of scientific, and especially *medical* men, should be able to satisfy themselves, or should think to convince the world of the reality of Animal Magnetism, by such facts as are here adduced. We are quite out of patience with the commission of the Royal Academy. In habits of careless observation, in hastiness of inference, and in the want of the true philosophical spirit, they have shown themselves on a level with "the million." Every person at all acquainted with the nature and progress of diseases, knows, that they are disposed, by nature,

to undergo frequent and often rapid changes, and that we are continually in danger of mistaking these changes for the effects of remedies. So strikingly is this the fact, that the philosophical physician never dares to draw a conclusion in favor of any particular method of treatment, until after repeated and cautious experiments, and a profound study of the subject. He knows, that the sick sometimes get well of themselves;—that a natural and a medicinal operation may be identical in their results;—that every complex effect may have many causes, or different causes;—that an opinion grounded on appearances or assumed relations is worth nothing, and will pass for nothing.

Now we cannot but think, that the person whose case called forth these remarks, would have recovered without the aid of magnetism. It seems he was much better when the experiments were begun, and was still recovering. It seems, too, that the means which he had before been using, were still continued; and they were no very inefficient means, either. They were such as blood-letting, setons, blisters, sinapisms, nux vomica, and the bath. These remedies, assisted by time and the operations of nature, were, it is fair to presume, sufficient to complete the cure.

However, it may be contended, that the causes named were insufficient to account for the suddenness of some of the changes observed in Paul's case, or for the correspondence between the time of his predicted and actual recovery. Though we deny, that every thing which took place *might* not be explained from the action of influences already suggested, aided by a few happy coincidences,—a very common species of assistance in cases of prophecy; yet, we are disposed to think, that, in the instance under consideration, there was an influence (and a pretty powerful one too) not yet mentioned;—an influence sufficient, and much more than sufficient, to account for the balance of effects. We have alluded already to the power of *imagination*; and what has been said of its almost unlimited sway over the progress of disease, etc., might be here repeated. We know positively, that, in many cases of sickness, it is sufficient for the patient to *expect* recovery, in order to secure it. Indeed, we scarcely know what a powerful mental impression, combined with strong expectation, may not accomplish in disease. There are certain organic affections, it is true, which it has no power to remove. But there are a great variety of disorders, (not essentially incurable,) and particularly, of disorders affecting the nervous system, in which it is per-

fectly adequate either to kill or cure. This adequacy must have been proved in the experience of every practicing physician. It is only the want of room, which prevents us from giving copious illustrations. The instance of the death of the second Lord Lyttleton, at the precise time of its prediction, cannot but occur to the reader in this connection. Such a prediction, in such circumstances, we should esteem always extremely dangerous, and very likely to fulfill itself.

We should suppose, too, that a person of Paul Villegrand's proved temperament of mind and condition of body, might, very easily, foretell the fact and time of his own recovery, and, very possibly, the period of his own death, could he but be persuaded, that he was, in reality, a prophet. But we return to the report :

'The following observation will show you that *prévision* still more developed in a man of a low class, quite ignorant, and who certainly never had heard of magnetism before.'

Pierre Cazot, of the age of twenty, born of an epileptic mother, had been subject for ten years to fits of epilepsy, that returned five or six times a week. He was magnetized by M. Foissac :

'He was put to sleep at the third sitting, and became a somnambule at the tenth, when he announced, that the same day, at four o'clock in the afternoon, he would have a fit of epilepsy, but that it could be prevented by magnetizing him a little while previous. We preferred to verify the exactitude of his *prévision*, and no care was taken to prevent the fit. We contented ourselves with observing him, he being not aware of it. At one o'clock, he was seized with a violent headache ; at three, he was compelled to go to his bed ; and at four, exactly, his fit came on ; it lasted five minutes.'

At a subsequent sitting, M. Foissac, at the distance of six feet, "fixed his eyes upon him, made no motion with his hands, kept the most complete silence, and Cazot fell asleep in eight minutes." Pins, an inch long, were thrust into various parts of his body ; his arm was so severely pinched, as to cause an ecchymosis ; tickling was attempted, by a bit of paper applied to the nose, lips, neck, soles of the feet, etc. ; and he gave no signs of waking.

Afterwards, M. Foissac magnetized this man at the distance of twelve feet, and separated from him by two closed doors. Three minutes after the process began, "Cazot said : 'I believe that M. Foissac is there, for I feel drowsy.' In the course of

eight minutes, he was completely asleep. We questioned him, and he assured us, that in three weeks from that day he would have an epileptic fit, at two minutes before twelve o'clock." This fit took place, according to the prediction. Several other fits, at different times, happened as they had been foretold.

Finally, in a magnetic sleep, occurring on the twenty-second of April, he announced another fit for the twenty-fifth of June, adding, that he should become crazy about three weeks after that time, which craziness would last three days, during which he must be bled "*Finally,*" said he, "*I shall be cured for the month of August; and being once cured, I shall never be sick again, whatever circumstances may happen.*" Two days after this, Cazot had his skull fractured, and was killed, in endeavoring to stop a "mad horse."

This case is dwelt on at great length in the report, and is evidently considered the strongest which the commission have to adduce in favor of Animal Magnetism. We have given the substance of it, our remaining space not allowing us to do more. Our remarks in the way of criticism must be as brief as possible.

In the first place, we would observe, in relation to Cazot's case, that epilepsy is a disease which is often simulated with great facility and accuracy. It has frequently been feigned, in order to escape military service, or to extort compassion and alms, and this with such horrid precision, as to deceive, for a time, most experienced observers. It is a disease, too, which, when once established, is easily brought on, by a powerful impression on the mind. Such is its known subjection to mental influences, that we should consider the full expectation and confident assurance of an attack, at a particular time, as always dangerous, and very probably sufficient of itself to induce an attack at the expected period. Indeed, we are inclined to think, that in any case of epilepsy, a person having such unlimited power over the mind, as M. Foissac seems to have had over that of Cazot, might cause a paroxysm at pleasure, by merely predicting it in his hearing. And, surely, it would not be very difficult for the epileptic himself to predict successfully, after such information.

In the next place, we must speak of the means taken to prevent deception. "Cazot," it is said on the authority of his employer, M. Georges, "was a workman of regular and excellent conduct, incapable, either by the simplicity of his mind, or by his morality, to lend himself to the least deception." This is all the evidence submitted on this point. It is in addi-

tion asserted, that Cazot "certainly never had heard of magnetism before;" but how the commission knew this, or whether they *knew* it at all, we are not informed. We are left to infer, that he could not have been acquainted with it, *because* he was "of a low class, quite ignorant." As to artifice on the part of M. Foissac, it is thought impossible, "unless one could suppose, that a gentleman whom we had always seen honest and loyal, wished to concert with an uneducated man, destitute of intelligence, to deceive us." And it is added, "we acknowledge, that we have no occasion for such an injurious supposition, and we are pleased to do the same justice to MM. Dupertet and Chapelain," other magnetizers, who flourish largely in other parts of the report.

In order to remove any doubt about the existence of a conspiracy between M. Foissac and his patient, the following *very* ingenious device was adopted. They were placed in separate rooms, Cazot, not being aware that his magnetizer was near, (so says the report,) was put into a state of somnambulism by the latter. While in this state, he gave notice, that he should have a fit on the fourth of November following. That M. Foissac might be led into error, he was given to understand, that the appointment had been made on the third of November. However, when he next magnetized his patient, he was informed, that the next fit would be on the fourth of November, as had been before predicted. In this manner the attempt to deceive was discovered.

This is the only instance of any contrivance used to prevent collusion, or to prove it, if it existed, with which we are presented in the report. And how the instance here given is calculated to satisfy any doubts on the question of trick and imposition, it sorely puzzles us to understand. The truth is, the commission, honest and unsuspecting themselves, seem never to have mistrusted foul play; therefore, they took no measures to prevent or detect it.

We have as yet said nothing of the disastrous termination of Cazot's brilliant career, and the consequent non-fulfillment of his latest, and, undoubtedly, (had he lived,) his *best* prophecies. As a satisfactory explanation of his unforeseen death, and of his unaccomplished predictions, M. Poyen, the translator, gives us the following extract from "a note published by Dr. Foissac, on Cazot"—M. Foissac, he who was thought too "honest and loyal to concert with an uneducated man to deceive:"

‘From the first time he entered into the state of somnambulism, Cazot had manifested a great tendency to apply his faculty of *prévision* to the ordinary events of life; but being convinced, by a great many facts, of the danger there is to allow to a somnambule to depart from the circle of disease, I had restrained the tendency of the faculty in him! Who could ever have foreseen, that so well-motived and laudable a reserve, should perhaps have become the cause of his death?’

On the whole, we regard the reputed case of Cazot, (though common enough in the work before us,) as a very rare specimen of careless observation and inconclusive reasoning. We might hold up our hands in astonishment, but we have ceased to be astonished at such things. We will only add, that the reporters seem to have selected a most unfortunate case by which to prove the gift of prophecy; and moreover, that their experiments were conducted in too loose a manner to be productive of any satisfactory results. We shall be excused, therefore, for affirming, that the power of *prévision*, as claimed for somnambulists, and as a distinct faculty, is still unproved.

The report closes with one other “fact,” intended to illustrate that faculty by which the somnambulist discovers the nature, and seat, and means of cure of the complaints of those with whom he is placed in contact. Before announcing these discoveries, he only places his hand slightly and repeatedly on the abdomen, chest, back, and head.

Mlle. Celine was magnetized by M. Foissac. A young woman, a countess, who had “all the right side of the neck very much obstructed by a great number of glands placed near one another,” was placed in communication with her. She said,

‘That her stomach had been attacked by a substance *like poison*; that the intestines were slightly inflamed; that there was in the right upper part of the neck a scrofulous malady, that must have been more considerable than at the present moment; that, in following a treatment she was going to prescribe, there would be some amelioration within a fortnight or three weeks.’

The treatment prescribed was followed for a little while with a “remarkable improvement,” but was soon discontinued from impatience. The patient became worse, and died in two months. Dissection discovered “a scrofulous, or tuberculous swelling of the glands of the neck, two small excavations filled up with pus, resulting from the dissolving of the tuber-

cles of the upper part of each lung. The mucous membrane of the stomach was almost entirely destroyed."

This statement contains all the essential particulars which are given of a case brought forward to prove a most remarkable and unheard-of faculty,—the faculty of seeing into another person's body, and inspecting minutely, and, as it were, by direct vision, the condition of his organs. Surely, we ought to have fuller, and more direct, and less questionable evidence than is here presented, before admitting the existence of so wonderful a faculty.

In the first place, it will be observed, the report does not say one word to warrant the supposition, that the somnambulist had been kept in ignorance of the sick countess' condition and state of health up to the time she made her prophetic declaration as to her disease,—a pretty important point, one would think. For ought that appears, she may have long known all she declared, and have learned it from the attending physician, or from M. Foissac, or merely from rumor.

Again, when Mlle. Celine pronounced on the disease of the countess, it does not appear, that the former was in any way blinded, and therefore unable, by a very *ordinary* means, (the use of the eyes,) to discover the complaints of the latter, at least in part. It certainly required no extraordinary powers of vision to detect a swelling of the neck, perhaps as large as a man's fist, nor any great tact at divination, to pronounce such a swelling, on the strength of such an appearance, "a scrofulous malady." Nor is it necessary to suppose, that Mlle. Celine was in possession of any new sense, or instinct, as it has been called, in order to explain the not very accurate coincidence between her declaration respecting the condition of the stomach and intestines, and the facts brought to light by dissection.

Here, it should be remarked, that it was exceedingly fashionable, a few years ago, in the palmy days of Broussais, or at about the period the commission were gathering the materials of their report, to consider almost every general disease as essentially an inflammation of the stomach and intestines, the effects of which are certainly very much "like" the action of "poison." The mass of the people, Mlle. Celine among the rest, were, doubtless, thoroughly imbued with the popular doctrine. Under such circumstances, is it strange, that Mlle. Celine should have made the declaration she did? As to that part of her assertion, which related to inflammation of the intestines, it does not appear, that anything of the kind was discovered after death.

Two other cases were presented to Mlle. Celine, for her opinion of their diseases, but the correspondence between her statement and the ascertained condition of the organs was less striking than in the case already given.

We will add one word as to the alledged great success of somnambulists in prescribing. We can see nothing in their prescriptions indicative of any peculiar degree of knowledge and skill,—nothing beyond the capacity of a very ordinary nurse. The “remarkable improvement,” which, it is claimed, sometimes followed the adopted suggestions of the somnambulist, may be accounted for in many ways. It is possible, that the remedies prescribed produced the beneficial result; or that this result was the operation of unassisted nature; or that it was the effect of a mental influence, derived from novelty, expectation, astonishment, etc. It is impossible for a reader of the report to assign the cause of the improvement in any particular case, so careful are the reporters not to furnish us with anything like detailed statement.

And here a question occurs to us, which we have been on the point of asking a hundred times since we began the perusal of the report before us,—Why do not the commission give us particulars? Surely, we ought to have some detailed accounts of persons exhibiting such extraordinary powers as are claimed for somnambulists. This would be an important matter, even in a historical, much more in a philosophical point of view. If a man presents himself to us, and proves the possession of an uncommon and unheard-of faculty, we feel peculiar interest to know all the particulars relative to the person,—his state of health, the nature and duration of his disease, if he has any, his constitution, temperament, habits, his susceptibility of body and mind, the peculiar state of his nervous system, etc., etc.,—thinking, very justly, that with this information we may possibly explain whatever appears anomalous and extraordinary. With this desire, so universal and so rational, for minute knowledge, the commission seem to feel no sympathy. In the case of Mlle. Celine, the person who could see into the bodies of others, not a syllable is said respecting her physical and moral condition, her circumstances of health, nervous sensibility, age, etc. Of Pierre Cazot, he who prophesied so truly respecting his own disease, nothing more is said than that he had been for ten years liable to fits of epilepsy. Respecting Paul Villegrand, the other person who showed a similar knack at prophecy, we are only told, that he had a “palsy of all the left side of the body,” fol-

lowing a fit of apoplexy. In all these cases, regarded as so important and decisive by the commission, and of which we had a right to expect the fullest and most particular account, we are kept in the most perfect darkness, as relates to those things which would most interest a philosophical inquirer. Nearly the same remark may be made respecting every case which is introduced into the report, from beginning to end. We are informed, that the person experimented on was subject to fits of epilepsy, or to "fits of the nerves," or had an "obstruction," or was an "instructor," or a "milliner." Such is a specimen of the information with which we are furnished, when we are furnished with any. We are carefully deprived of that sort of knowledge to which we should naturally look for an explanation of so many of the alledged wonders contained in the report, as cannot be accounted for on the supposition of trick and imposture. It seems wholly unaccountable, (as great a miracle, almost, as any of those that are told of somnambulists,) that a committee of medical men, making what claims to be an elaborate report to a grave body of learned physicians, should wholly forget those professional details which are so especially and deservedly interesting to medical men, and to which every philosopher confidently looks for the causes of all apparent deviations from established physiological laws. Is it possible, that the reporters had any design in their pertinacious silence regarding matters of the greatest moment? Or did they think to give their statements greater currency and interest, by clothing them in mystery? Or were they entirely incapacitated to observe and relate details? Or, (what is more probable,) were their whole souls so absorbed in their subject, so captivated and clouded by the overwhelming magnitude and importance of Animal Magnetism, that they could not fix their attention on those dry, and uninteresting, and minute particulars, which would only serve to retard their progress, and to remove them farther from those splendid conclusions at which they were anxious to arrive? Were they not themselves sometimes the objects of the magnetic influence, when they were not aware of it? Were not their faculties, in some instances, spell-bound, at a most critical time, by the resistless power of M. Foissac's or M. Dupotet's energetic will, "inwardly expressed?" Perhaps when the magnetizer *seemed* to the commission to be operating on a somnambulist, controlling and directing his thoughts, etc., he was really and secretly exercising a more sovereign sway over their own minds, shutting up their organs of sense, giv-

ing them new "instincts" and new faculties, and enabling them, by a novel mode of vision, or "*prévision*," the effect, perhaps, of "the transport of the senses," to see all sorts of strange things which never existed. It would be a very curious circumstance, and a new and very interesting exhibition of the truth and power of Animal Magnetism, should it finally turn out, that the *reporters* were the real and only magnetic sleepers in all the experiments with which they have, with such infinite toil, presented us.

On the whole, after a most thorough and impartial examination of the report of the French commission, we are firmly of the opinion, that it is entirely unworthy of that confidence which has been too frequently bestowed upon it. The facts contained in it are too generally loosely and inaccurately stated, the experiments conducted with too little caution, and too confiding a spirit, to warrant the conclusions which have been drawn from it. It is valuable as a curiosity, but it can have no permanent worth as a well-attested and philosophical document. Its loop-holes, for the admission of error, are numerous,—almost beyond example. It is true, its authors make frequent and long professions of patience, coolness, caution, deliberation, diffidence, distrust, and impartiality; but we find, to our regret, that these very commendable qualities are far oftener spoken of than illustrated by example. It is the continual iteration of these professions, perhaps, together with the occasional exhibition of great honesty of purpose in bringing forward cases of manifest deception, or instances of unsuccessful experiment, which has given their report that semblance of truth which a hasty and superficial reader will not fail to observe. It is this semblance, if we mistake not, which has procured the report all its popularity, and all the respectful consideration it has received among men of information. Had it not been for this dangerous quality, taken in connection with the character of the reporters, and of that very respectable body to which they belong, and for whom they acted, we should have considered their communication as entirely unworthy the lengthened notice we have given it.

ART. VII.—TODD'S SABBATH SCHOOL TEACHER.

The Sabbath School Teacher: designed to aid in elevating and perfecting the Sabbath School System. By REV. JOHN TODD, *Pastor of the First Congregational Church, Philadelphia, etc.*

OF no institution, except the gospel ministry, have higher expectations been formed, in New England, than of the sabbath school. By bringing the young, from earliest childhood, under the influence of social religious instruction; by impressing on the mind, at its first development, the lessons of scripture history; and implanting the living germs of truth in the moral soil while it is warm and active, and before it is overgrown with the rank shoots of sin; it has been supposed, that a generation might be trained for God, to whom the church might point and say, with more than the exultation of the Roman matron: "These are my jewels." It has been felt, of late, more perhaps than for the half century previous, that *moral* culture must be united with *intellectual*; that in every system of education, the improvement of the heart must receive at least an equal attention with that of the mental powers; that the principles of the bible must be inculcated as diligently as those of any branch of science; in short, that human knowledge must be impregnated, vivified, sanctified, by divine; or the experiment we are making in education, government, and religion, will end in what is infinitely worse than a failure. It is surprising, that christians should be so slow in adopting practically the doctrine of Plato and Quintilian, that no instruction is worthy of public patronage, which does not make men *better*, as well as wiser. We have relied too much on simple intelligence. We have seemed to forget, that knowledge and intellectual power in a community, without moral principle, are more likely to be an engine of evil than of good.

A favorable change, however, has been to some extent effected. The churches are, in some measure, awake to the importance of religious instruction. The result of the experiment in France, of knowledge without religion; the history of crime, as unfolded in our own penitentiaries; and of profligacy and insubordination, as it may be traced in every part of our land; have *begun* to draw the attention of christians somewhat earnestly to the fact, that without a deeper settling, and a more general diffusion of the religious principle, we are a ruined people. Their anxious eyes have been direct-

ed to the *sabbath school*, as one, perhaps as the principal, instrument to be employed, under God, in working out, to say the least, our political salvation. Every church has its sabbath school; and in this quiet nursery it rejoices the heart to see the olive-plants in a course of training, which are hereafter to adorn our civil and spiritual Zion.

But, how strong is the tendency in human nature to be satisfied with incipient and half-completed efforts in the cause of holiness! The common impression seems to be, that the sabbath school once formed and put in operation, will continue to act much like an automaton machine. It is regarded as an instrument, that will do its work with little further aid from the churches, than what is necessary in first bringing it into efficient action, and now and then regulating and correcting its movements. Indeed, there is serious reason to fear, that multitudes of christian parents look upon this institution as an exceedingly convenient contrivance for relieving them of their appropriate duties to their children, and gladly shuffle off their responsibilities upon the sabbath school teacher. All this shows, that the religious training of the young is a subject not yet adequately understood; that the interest which has been awakened in the community, yet falls far below the point to which it must be raised, in order to secure the objects contemplated. Every year, the dangers which, like tempest-clouds, hang around our horizon, are assuming a denser and darker form. And as we watch the distant portents, and listen to the yet smothered mutterings of the storm, we are constrained to cry out with increasing apprehension:

Di! prohibite minas, di talem avertite casum!

Yet it is the spiritual welfare of the rising generation for which we ought to feel the deepest concern. As patriots, we are bound to seek and pray for the prosperity of our country. But as christians, we must seek the salvation of souls,—of the world. In fact, the two objects are united. And the same course of measures which will be most effectual in the salvation of souls, and in spreading the triumphs of christianity over the whole earth, will also contribute most directly and powerfully to our national well-being. The christian is not only "the highest style of man," but the comprehensive summary of all in man that is excellent, and adapted to the condition in which he is placed. Whatever multiplies the number of christians, multiplies also the safeguards of the state.

It cannot be questioned, that there are energies in the sab-

bath school system which have not yet been developed. It certainly has not answered the expectations of the christian public concerning it. It has done much, it is true. But it has not done all that was hoped. Many young minds have been effectually imbued with truth, which otherwise might have passed through life ignorant and degraded. Many souls have been saved from hell, which otherwise might have perished forever. Many members of our churches, by being enlisted in the work of instruction, have become efficient co-workers with God, who might otherwise have stood all their days idle in the spiritual vineyard. Many churches have been raised up from the dust, and made to shine as cities set on a hill, which might else have lingered on in weakness, or become extinct. Many young men, too, have been led to devote themselves to the work of the ministry, who might else have remained inactive in the common walks of life. All this (and it is no small praise) is to be ascribed to the influence of sabbath schools.

But far more than this, we cannot doubt, is within the power of the system to accomplish. We cannot but regard what has been, compared with what is to be achieved by it, only as the small, irregular, half-concealed rill, just issuing from the mountain-pass, compared with the same stream swelling into the mighty river, enriching wide plains with its fertilizing tribute, and bearing the treasures of commerce to populous cities along its shores. It is exceedingly to be deplored, that there is no more energy and efficiency in the application of the system.

We are encouraged, however, to hope for better things, and should be prepared confidently to predict a favorable change, if the book whose title we have placed at the head of this article, should be read as extensively and carefully as its merits deserve. Our readers are already somewhat acquainted with its author. He has carried the same strength of thought, the same copiousness of illustration, and the same racy force of style, into this work, as those by which his former attempts have been distinguished. We cannot but rejoice, that a treatise on this important subject, or rather, *class* of subjects, so admirably adapted to the wants of our churches, has at this time been presented to them. We will not, indeed, affirm, that the book is in all respects what we could have desired. Some of its narratives may be deemed too childish, some of its suggestions uncalled for, and some of its positions ill-sustained. Possibly it may be regarded as approximating too nearly to a class of works, more numerous

than we could wish at the present day, in which there is more to amuse than instruct, and whose use is not so much to nourish and invigorate *thought*, as to furnish a substitute for thinking. A jealousy of such books is beginning to show itself in some quarters, which, on the whole, we are glad to discover. Nevertheless, this jealousy, like the object to which it is directed, while it ought to be considered as good in itself, is in great danger of being carried to an extreme. It certainly cannot be unwise, in works especially which are designed for the benefit of the young, to relieve the soberness of fact with the graces of fancy, to introduce simple narratives illustrative of great principles, and to combine pleasure with instruction. This, we think, is all that Mr. Todd designed, and all that can fairly be laid to his charge.

The Sabbath School Teacher is divided into fourteen chapters, in which the following important topics are discussed:—"Great object of the sabbath school system: First principles in christian education: Character and duties of the superintendent: Qualifications of a good teacher: Other means of doing good, besides teaching: Acquiring information, in order to teach: Communicating religious instruction: Infant sabbath schools: Singing in the sabbath schools: Connection of the missionary cause with the sabbath school: Duty of the church and pastor to the sabbath school: Duties of teachers in regard to the sabbath: Selecting young men for the ministry: Encouragements to faithfulness." A wide field is here presented, and it has not been carelessly nor hastily traversed.

One thought occurs in the first chapter, which we desire our readers deeply and prayerfully to ponder. It is this: *The gospel, when its influence is but partial, imparts physical strength to a nation, which soon becomes a heavy curse.* If this position is correct, it shows the business of religious instruction to be one of tremendous responsibility. If the gospel, the more its power is felt—provided it fails in bringing men into a spiritual conformity to its precepts—serves only to nourish the more a sort of suicidal energy, to give increased strength to the arm which is in the end to pluck down ruin on the community; it is time, that this fact were more generally understood, and that christians were more generally awake to its import. The idea, indeed, is no new one, that the gospel will prove, in the future world, a savor of death unto death to such as refuse its provisions; but in this world, we have been wont to regard it as, in all its natural influences, a savor of life, a safeguard to the state, a source and sustainer

of our civil prosperity. They, also, who have been laboring to extend the knowledge of its truths, who, in the pulpit and in the sabbath school, have sought to explain its doctrines and enforce its precepts, have flattered themselves, that, even when they had little success in converting men to God, they were, notwithstanding, doing much to promote purity of morals and general good order in society.

We are, however, doing injustice to Mr. Todd's argument. He would not call in question the truth of what we have just advanced. We have only to complain, that his proposition is too indefinite. What does he mean by the "partial influence of the gospel?" It may, obviously, mean more or less; and if it does not mean *any* degree of influence which falls short of the real renovation of the heart, we know not what to understand by the argument. Certainly, we are not to believe, that all influence of the gospel which fails of converting men to Christ, tends to results unfavorable to the social well-being of men,—to the production of effects which will prove a "heavy curse." Perhaps the meaning is sufficiently explained on a subsequent page: "Poor France! She had light and influence of the gospel just sufficient to create all this intellectual and physical energy, without having a *gospel conscience* created, by which these might be controlled and guided." The idea, then, is, that when christianity serves only to awaken mind to action, to develop and give impulse to its powers, to stimulate industry in all departments of inquiry and of business, and thus put all the enginery of human nature in a state of vigorous and intense activity, and yet there is no deep sense of religious obligation in the community, no ascendancy given to conscience, over the mighty movement of the vast machine of society, it will work out, in the end, only mischief and ruin. This is a doctrine which no reflecting person can doubt for a moment. The only question is, whether christianity ever does create such an amount of intellectual and physical energy, without at the same time creating corresponding moral influences and restraints. Cases there doubtless are, in which individuals become more vicious and more dangerous members of society, in consequence of the influence of a despised and rejected gospel. But the cases are far more numerous, in which individuals, without experiencing the renovating power of religion, are made far better, in all the relations of life, by a partial acquaintance with it. The same is true of men collectively. Conscience will be cultivated and strengthened very nearly in proportion to the culti-

vation of the other faculties of the mind, through the influence of the gospel, so long as the gospel is directly operative. The example of France is scarcely relevant. For there, the gospel had been discarded, and religion trampled under foot. If it was the source of that tremendous power which at length recoiled upon the nation with such fatal consequences, it was the cause of the evil only as the sun is the cause of darkness to a man who, to escape its hated light, betakes himself to a dungeon, where its rays can never reach him. We cannot admit, that a community was ever in a worse condition for an acquaintance with christianity, so long as christianity has generally a place both in the understanding and the belief of men. It has a natural fitness to act beneficially on the human mind in every relation of life; and the more extensively it is known, and the more powerfully it operates, the greater will be the prosperity and security of a nation. No man ever need fear, that in communicating religious instruction, he may be nourishing an enemy to the state. Still, it is possible, that our author's argument, in the sense in which he intended to be understood, is very little liable to complaint. We should have been better pleased with it, however, had it been expressed in somewhat the following form: *The gospel is often the source of intellectual and physical energies, which, in their mighty growth, tend to crush the parent that produced them, and so become a heavy curse to the community.*

We will refer to only one other particular, in which we think the work under consideration is especially liable to objection. Mr. Todd says: "While I fully believe in the early conversion of children, and think I have seen many such conversions, I have never yet seen one, that I should have dared to publish, had the child been taken away." He then proceeds to point out what he conceives to be very great defects in most of the infant biographies which have been published, and more than *hints*, that they are generally highly overdrawn. The impression likely to be produced by these strictures, which are in a tone of no little severity, is, that such books are unworthy of a place in our sabbath school libraries, and ought speedily to be cast out. Now we freely admit, that there is some foundation for these strictures. There is danger, undoubtedly, that children, after reading a large number of biographies of young persons who have *died*, and finding their characters so unlike anything they have seen among the living, should conclude, that there is almost a necessary connection between such wonderful piety and an early death.

It is not to be denied, that there has been too much *poetic license* taken by these juvenile biographers. But we are not quite ready to see this entire class of books condemned without discrimination or ceremony.

The suggestions concerning the duties of teachers, superintendents, pastors, and churches, relative to the sabbath school, deserve an attentive consideration. Teachers do not sufficiently appreciate the price put into their hands to purchase invaluable blessings for the soul and for society. They often take the place of parents, who either will not or cannot properly instruct their children in the doctrines and duties of religion;—of ministers, who are unable, amid their multiplied engagements, to prepare, in all instances, such instruction as the younger members of their flock require; and of legislators, who, in regulating the general interests of society, too frequently overlook that which is the only foundation and safeguard of these interests,—wide-spread and deep-rooted religious principle. On various topics of great importance to teachers, the book contains hints and illustrations which will be read with interest and profit. The same is true, perhaps in a greater degree, as it respects the duties of superintendents, particularly on the subject of discipline. The general influence of the superintendent on the school, is much greater than is easily perceived; and on this topic we find some valuable remarks. The teachers themselves will look up to him as a sort of example; at all events, they will catch his spirit, whether it is dull or lively, whether it is characterized by sluggishness or zeal. They must depend on him, too, for much instruction and general direction, in the adoption of new plans, or the better prosecution of old ones. He will necessarily be to the school what the commander in chief is to an army. A general supervision is not all,—is but a comparatively trifling part of his duty. In addition to this, he must infuse spirit, energy, and life, into all ranks of his *corps*, or he is incompetent to his office. There is no class of men, with the exception of pastors, and perhaps officers of colleges, who occupy a post of such commanding moral influence over the young, as superintendents of sabbath schools; and it is incumbent on churches to exercise the most wary care in selecting them. The superintendent, when appointed to this office, should feel, that he is under almost as imperious obligations to qualify himself thoroughly for his work, and perform it faithfully, as those which rest on the pastor in relation to the work of the ministry. Again, pastors will find some

brotherly hints, in the eleventh chapter, which they will do well to regard with kindness and attention. We shall give our readers a few brief extracts :

‘Almost every sabbath school contains hundreds of children, in the morning of their being, open to the best impressions, and rapidly forming characters which will abide with them forever. These hundreds of immortal beings are placed in the hands of some thirty or forty teachers,—the best, probably, to be obtained ; but all the minister is supposed to know of them, is, that they are members of his church, and are people of common abilities. I ask, now, if he would be willing to have as many *adults* taken from his pastoral charge, and, once a week, instructed in religion by those of whom he knows nothing, except that they are professors of religion ? Would he be wise or safe, judicious or justifiable, in so doing ?’ pp. 336, 337.

This view of the matter is exceedingly important. If a pastor would deem himself criminally negligent, were he to allow large numbers of adults belonging to his congregation, to receive religious instruction from one and another, without taking the trouble to inquire who and what they were, or what their influence was likely to be ; ought he not, for the same reason, or, we would rather say, for a stronger reason, to see, that the children under his charge are instructed only by those who are competent and trustworthy ? For a bad influence on a young mind will be likely to prove more pernicious than on one more mature ; as a good influence will be likely to mold it more effectually for virtue. “Were it only for the safety of the individual church” under his care, every minister ought to be acquainted with all the proceedings of the school, with the character of all the teachers in it, and with the whole philosophy of the system. He ought to interest himself deeply in every thing belonging to it ; for it is an engine of tremendous power for good or evil, and, to a considerable extent, as he shall direct it. Its effects will not be confined to a single church or district :

‘Let teachers be neglected, let them teach error, and feed from the vine of Sodom, and pluck clusters from the vineyard of Gomorrah, and we have a power growing up which is irresistible. Let them believe and go wrong, and we cherish an infant Hercules, whose club will shortly be used in beating and killing his own mother.’ * * * ‘If our teachers are not held responsible for what they do and what they teach, to the pastor and to the church, woe to the hopes of stability in the walls of our Zion ! In order to meet the case, the minister must not be cold, formal, indifferent ; but his heart must warm over the school, as over his own children.’ pp. 337, 338.

A considerable number of pages are devoted to the duties of churches to the sabbath school. This, in our estimation, is one of the most important of all the topics discussed in the volume. If, at the present time, there is a lack of energy and efficiency in our schools; if the attendance is stationary or diminishing; if zeal has grown cold, and hope has declined; if conversions are rare, and confidence in the system begins to waver; we must search for the root of the evil in the churches. Every thing depends on right feeling and right action here. A want of interest and energy here, will be sure to be followed with the same evil in the schools. For, in the first place, the church must appoint the teachers, or a committee, who shall be intrusted with this duty, or, at least, the superintendent, to whom it shall be committed. Now if this is done in such a careless, negligent, indifferent manner, as leaves the impression on the minds of the teachers, that the church feels no interest in the business, they, almost as a matter of course, will feel no responsibility, at least, none to the church, and will drag through their labors with a like indifference. But let them see, that the church is tremblingly alive and solicitous for the proper management and prosperity of the school, and let them feel, that they are clothed with a responsible commission, and they will go to their work with something of the same feeling of responsibility with which a pastor enters his pulpit.

Again: Were the churches properly awake on this subject, much would be done for the religious instruction of children at home, and this would contribute to the prosperity of the schools. Let parents follow the direction of Moses, and teach their little ones the great truths of religion, when they sit in their house and when they walk by the way, when they lie down and when they rise up, and a new era would commence in our sabbath schools. But many parents, members of churches, who have, moreover, stood up at the altar and dedicated their children to God,—virtually promising, by a most solemn vow, that they would train them in the knowledge and fear of the Lord,—have fallen into an error not unlike that of certain tribes of idolaters, who, sensible of the necessity of prayer, and yet impatient of the trouble of it, contrive to pray to their gods by the help of machines. A similar machine, substituting religious instruction in the place of prayer, multitudes would make of our sabbath schools. But in this way the object can be but poorly accomplished. Such a machine will never work to advantage. Christian

parents in all our churches must awake, and put their own hands and hearts and voices to the work, and then it will go on triumphantly.

Besides, such a state of solicitous interest on the part of churches, would always command a large attendance. The lambs of the flock would be sought out in every dark and neglected corner of the field, and led to the place where the still waters of salvation flow. Hundreds, too, of maturer age, would be induced to attend; and how? By the example of the church itself. It is one of the duties which Mr. T. urges on the churches, that, "if possible, every member should have something to do with the school, either as a teacher or a scholar." Thus nearly all the congregation might, as if by sympathy, be drawn in, to be enriched from this fountain of knowledge and grace. It is the highest folly to expect, that adults destitute of religion will be willing to become members of the sabbath school, or to remain connected with it, when they see those who profess to love the bible, and to value the various means of grace, turning indifferently away from it.

Once more: Much—how much we want language to express—depends on the *prayers* of the churches. What we need most of all, for the highest success in this cause, is, such an earnest desire in the hearts of christians for the blessing of God on the work, as should send up to heaven the incense of prayer from the closet, from the domestic altar, and from the monthly concert, continually. Alas! how low,—if we may judge from the attendance at the concert,—how low have the churches fallen, in their sense of dependence on the Spirit of God, and in fervor of desire, for the conversion of children! "The bible, and our own observation, abundantly show, that children can be converted at a very early age. The most eminent men who have ever lived for God and the salvation of the world, have been converted in the morning of life. They were like the early, small stars of evening, very small, but pure and bright and beautiful." Is it enough, that children are placed where they hear, from sabbath to sabbath, the voice of religious instruction;—enough, that they are brought to the porches of the spiritual Bethesda? A power from on high is still wanting, to trouble the waters, before any miracles of healing can be wrought; and that power is never imparted, we had almost said, except in answer to prayer. And yet christians slumber, and teachers grow discouraged, and the wheels move heavily, and many begin

to fear, lest the hopes we have built on the system of sabbath school instruction, shall prove baseless as a dream. But no ! "The bible has promised, that the time shall come, when the child shall die a hundred years old. It can be brought about. Every church must aim to bring it about, in regard to the children committed to her, whom she places in the sabbath school. And most stupid, negligent, and guilty, will she be, if she does not give herself to the work."

In one of the last chapters we have some admirable suggestions respecting the selection of young men for the ministry. It is contended, that hereafter the sabbath school is to be "the nursery of the ministry." Here our youth are to receive that elementary training, which is to form a principal stage in their preparation to preach the unsearchable riches of Christ. Here, too, they are to be brought under the eye of the church, and those qualities are to be developed, which will mark them out as fit candidates, prospectively, for the sacred office. As teachers, also, many will learn the divine art of communicating religious instruction, pressing it home on the heart, and thus acquire one of the most important qualifications of a gospel minister. Never was there so great a demand for ministers of the gospel, thoroughly educated, and richly endowed both in intellect and heart, as at this moment. The whole world, with insatiate importunings, begins to cry out for the bread of life. The church, notwithstanding temporary embarrassments, will hear and respond to the call. "Let our dear youth hear it, and make themselves ready to enter the vineyard. Let our teachers furnish men from their own number ; let them train up their pupils for the holy service ; let them make every school a nursery of young prophets of the Lord."

We have given a very imperfect view of this valuable work, and feel, that we may have done injustice to its author. But if this brief notice shall tend, in any measure, to increase its usefulness, and introduce it into any schools or families, where else it might not have found its way ; or if it shall awaken public attention more deeply and devoutly to the subject of sabbath school instruction, our object will be accomplished. Meanwhile, "let us," in the closing words of our author, "sow beside all waters ; in the morning scattering the seed upon the earth fresh with the dews of heaven, in the evening withholding not the hand ; for we know not whether the one or the other shall prosper. And when the toils and anxieties of this life shall be over, may we rejoice together

with the ten thousand times ten thousand, who, without ceasing day or night, praise God and the Lamb forever and ever !”

ART. VIII.—ANCIENT MYSTERIES.

AGLAOPHAMUS, *sive de Theologiae mysticae Graecorum causis*. [An Essay on the Mysteries of the Greeks. By C. A. LOBECK, Professor of Ancient Literature, in the University of Königsberg. In two vols. Königsberg: 1829.]

THE subject of the pagan mysteries has never failed strongly to interest the student of ancient literature. On the one hand, it enlists in its favor that curiosity which naturally attaches to anything hidden ; and on the other, it is supposed to furnish the key to the origin of heathenism, and even to its connection with the true revelation. So much were the mysteries before the minds of the Greek and Roman writers, that allusions and metaphors drawn from them are of frequent occurrence, while one of the terms used to denote them plays an important part in the language of the new testament. The slight resemblance between them and the sacramental feast of the christians, caused the ignorant heathen to look upon the Lord's Supper as mysterious orgies ; and the slander industriously spread in the first centuries, that the christians in their secret meetings were wont to murder young boys, and to devour their mangled bodies,—a slander based upon the emblem of the broken body of Christ,—may have found support in the Orphic mysteries, where the torn limbs of Zagreus were represented by words or signs. These, and other circumstances, give a higher interest to the mysteries, even in the mind of the christian student, than perhaps any other subject of classical antiquities can claim.

It is not, however, our object here to enter into this matter, for the sake of gratifying curiosity ; as christian reviewers, we wish to inquire, whether the mysteries taught any of the doctrines of pure religion ; whether, while the stream of paganism rolled dark and turbid along from age to age, there was an under-current of secret doctrine, on which the being of one God, and the immortality of the soul, were transmitted from the time when the patriarchs walked with God, until the time when life and immortality were brought to light in the gospel ?

It is well known, that scholars of great name have given this import to the mysteries. Warburton thought, that the hierophant at Eleusis held a discourse in the inner part of the temple, before the initiated, in which he disclosed, that the gods commonly worshiped were but men, and that there was one supreme God, who was alone to be revered; and also spoke of morals, and the rewards of virtue after this life;—to which a writer of Germany, named Starck, adds the doctrines of the resurrection and the final judgment. Ouvaroff, a Russian, in a French essay upon the mysteries of Eleusis, goes still farther. After attempting to show, that a relation can be traced between the initiations and the true source of all knowledge, he says, “that this fact affords sufficient ground for believing, not only that the initiated there gained just notions of the Godhead, and of its relations to the soul of man, of the primitive dignity of human nature, its fall, the immortality of the soul, the means of its return to God, in fine, of an order of things after death; but also, that they received the knowledge of oral, and even of written traditions,—precious relics of the great shipwreck of human things.” And to mention no more, Creuzer, one of the highest authorities of the present day in mythology, says, that while the first or lesser Eleusinian mysteries offered chiefly fables and symbolical scenery to the ears and eyes of the initiated, “the higher gave instruction concerning the one eternal God, the world, and the destiny of man.” “Agriculture and mysteries,” he goes on to say, “are named together by Isocrates, as the greatest boons which Attica had received. Even hence we might conjecture, were there no festal songs to confirm it, that in the Attic mysteries the doctrine of the palingenesia and of the soul’s immortality were taught, especially by images drawn from the changes of corn planted in the earth.”

But can it have been so? Was the light and immortality brought to light in the gospel nothing more than what the disclosure—the profanation of the mysteries of Eleusis—would have taught the darkened nations, and what was actually taught to the initiated few? Did Moses, as Warburton contends, purposely avoid this doctrine, in order to guide men by the motive of earthly rewards; while Triptolemus, or whatever name of gray antiquity founded the rites of Eleusis, with higher views than the Jewish prophet, placed the lamp of immortality in a corner where it might be safe from the winds of paganism, and might light those who “comprehended it,” on the road to heaven? If so, our conclusions concerning

the influence of paganism must be different from those which most christian writers have formed. For if there were but few initiated, so there were few "faithful found among the faithless" Jews, in all time. And if Judaism is half paganized by casting away the element of a future state, on the one hand, so is paganism almost christianized by retaining it in its purity, though in a mystery, on the other. And the view which we have ever had of Judaism, as the school in which alone man was taught the existence of the true God, and his own forfeited obligations; and in which, also, the world was prepared for Christ,—we say, such a view, on this supposition, must at least be modified. The pagan Pantheon was only the abuse of truth; its reality was portrayed by the faithful traditions of the mysteries. So we may be led even to adopt the words of Creuzer, who says, (praef. to 1st ed. of his *Symbolik*,) "in every point of view I attach a high value to christianity,—nay, the highest value among all known religions; yet I regard the religious culture of the Greeks, so far as it rested upon the mysteries, as pretty much of the same kind with christianity, and so far as it was manifested in the public worship, as a necessary stepping-stone to it." Thus we come to the adoption of Pope's universal prayer: "*Father of all,—Jehovah, Jove, or Lord.*"

Before proceeding farther, let us be allowed here to observe, that there are two opposite tendencies in writers, who seek to bring the truths of the scriptures and the pagan mythology into connection. The christian writer, regarding it as highly probable, that the great facts of the primitive world would not be lost by any save the lowest races of mankind, and that divine truth was gradually encroached upon by error, will gladly seize upon anything in pagan tradition which looks like scriptural truth. He welcomes it as a confirmation of the old testament, and he takes it because he believes in the old testament. Thus Bryant finds Noah, the ark, and the flood, in many of the traditions and rites of the heathen; while Faber makes the priests of Samothrace,—the guardians of the mysteries of the Cabiri,—all but have the Hebrew scriptures in their own hands. The danger of such writers, plainly, is that of being led away by a lively fancy, of seizing upon resemblances of words without using philosophical caution, and of making combinations of facts, purely accidental, the basis of systems. But on the other hand, there are writers, who, mistaking the essence of christianity, or regarding it as an appendage to the scanty doctrines of theism, and viewing theism as a

system of conclusions made by the unaided mind of man, take it for granted, that all religions are alike in substance; and are not slow to find the same general and alone important elements in them all. Their temptation is to put more meaning into paganism, and less into christianity, than they have. Even polytheism slides in their sight into a sort of Roman Catholic Judaism, and men, so far from disliking to retain God in their knowledge, actually worshiped him as the supreme God. Thus in this one subject, the desire to bring honor upon revelation, and the disparagement of it, have brought men to much the same result by ways entirely opposite.

At the same time, there is a tendency in a contrary direction to that last mentioned, which influences the views of some writers, particularly at the present day, who are not anxious to find support for revelation in the traditions of paganism. They regard the heathen systems of worship as, in a great measure, of domestic origin,—the offspring rather of poetical fables, than of a disposition to symbolize the great objects and powers of nature. Whatever symbols are clearly to be traced, need not be of common origin in different gentile lands, nor be handed down and spread by tradition, in any other sense than as metaphors and allegories are propagated. The human mind selects them from their natural resemblance to the thing signified, or recognizes them when once thus used. Oracles and mysteries, in different lands, may have sprung up independently; the former owing its rise to the universal notion, that persons divinely inspired could give advice or information concerning the future; and the latter to the great power which awe and curiosity, aroused by something secret and august, exert over the mind. And, to select an instance, the Greek religion is to be looked upon as the growth of Greece, not as imported from Egypt, which the Egyptian priests persuaded Herodotus to believe; nor as half Sanscrit, which the earlier Sanscrit scholars among the English imagined. Hence it is a natural inference, that there could have been no serious or universal language uttered by the ceremonies or mysteries of Greece, and much less any tradition of weighty truth brought down from primeval times.

We shall endeavor to remain free from the undue influence of views like these, which, as German scholars know, have been matter of fierce contest between the partisans of Creuzer's *Symbolik*, and Voss' *Anti-symbolik*. The case is yet before the judge, and if any verdict can be given upon it, the time for so doing may not have come. But with regard to the

mysteries, we shall attempt to support the view to which the last mentioned theory naturally leads,—that, *so far as anything can be known of them, they were not essentially different from the public worship of heathenism; that their importance did not consist in teaching exalted doctrines concerning God and the soul; that in truth no secret doctrines properly pertained to them; and that whatever high truths may have been suggested to any of the initiated, those truths were of "private interpretation," or were sewed on to the mysteries after the rise of philosophy.* And in so doing it will be necessary to divide the mysteries according to the date of their foundation, and to inform our readers, that some of these were long posterior to the cultivation of philosophy, nay, to the christian era, or were got up by private persons, like secret societies in modern times. If in those comparatively modern days philosophising priests engrafted the theories of the Pythagoreans, of Plato, or of the Persians, concerning the soul, upon their secret rites, or if superstitious philosophers mixed up ancient fable with their tenets; this no more makes against what we are trying to show, than the allegorical meaning which has been put upon the pentateuch proves Moses to have written upon the principles of Philo or Cocceius.

In the course of our remarks, we shall select the Eleusinian mysteries as the principal topic; for if such secret doctrines as have been referred to, were taught anywhere in the Grecian world, it was at this celebrated festival, to which throngs of worshipers resorted, and which had the highest reputation of sanctity. We shall follow, in a considerable degree, the guidance of the very learned and acute writer whose name stands at the head of this article, only observing, that he is by no means a partisan of the system of Creuzer, which converts almost every thing in ancient paganism into a symbol of physical or moral truth. Nor shall we leave out of sight the "*recherches sur les mysteres du paganisme*" of St. Croix, edited the second time by De Sacy. This latter work, however, seems to be wanting in caution and critical sagacity, although the editor has done much to amend its errors, left imperfect as it was by his deceased friend. Both St. Croix and De Sacy are opposed to the notion of Warburton, that the unity of God formed the main point in the secret doctrine of the Eleusinian mysteries. The former thinks, that at first they were only lustrations, and that afterwards secret instruction was connected with them, which related only to the services rendered to the Greeks by the first legislators and the chiefs of foreign (i. e.

Egyptian) colonies ; such as the establishment of laws, the discovery of agriculture, and the introduction of a new religious worship. "The punishments of another life were threatened in them, no less than in the open and vulgar superstition. Afterwards, in the age of Solon, the mystagogues began to speak of the ruin of the ancient world, of the physical revolutions, of the origin of good and evil, of the power of demons, and the like,—all arising out of allegorical explanations of the fables relating to Ceres, Proserpine, and Iacchus." Still later, the ministers of Eleusis embodied in their secrets the tenets of the stoic and eclectic systems. De Sacy departs still farther from Warburton, and thinks, that whatever doctrines appertained to the mysteries were neither secret nor mysterious. Those dogmas had not passed from the mysteries into the public faith, but were established and recognized in the mysteries, as forming a part of the public faith at the epoch of institution. The only secrets of the mysteries were a part of the rites and symbols. "As for the allegorical explanations, I am far from thinking," says this excellent man and scholar, "with some learned men, who, for reasons which they content themselves with letting others guess, would wish to bring paganism back into respectability ; that those which owe their birth to Plato, and still more, to the new Platonics, and which change almost the whole of mythology into a subtle doctrine concerning the souls of men, their emanation from the soul of the world, their descent into bodies, and the like ; that these allegorical ideas, I say, go back to the origin of the mysteries. Like all the other explanations of the mystic narratives, representations, and rites, they prevailed at a certain time in the adyta, and were taught there. It is thus, saving the comparison, that, according to the taste of different christian ages and nations, the narratives of the old testament, everywhere and always the same, have been understood and explained by the doctors of the church, either literally, or as types and figures of the new testament, or as allegories of a spiritual, dogmatical, and moral nature, by means of what is called *oeconomia*, or accommodation. The same is true in regard to the rites of Judaism, and even to the ceremonies of christian worship."

The *first* argument which we offer in support of this view of De Sacy and Lobeck, that no secret doctrines were taught by the priests of Eleusis, is derived from the office of the priesthood, as understood by the Greeks. In the true religion, indeed, "the priest's lips should keep knowledge," and a part of

his office was to be a moral instructor to the Jewish people. But with regard to the priests of paganism, Lactantius, though an adversary, is right when he says, "the worship of the gods has no wisdom in it, for nothing is there learned, which can have power to cultivate the morals, and form the life. Nor does it contain any investigation of truth, but only rites of worship, which consist in bodily service." Hence, though at some thronged and rich temples the office was a respectable one, in general the priests of Greece stood in no very high repute: their employment (being nothing more than to observe the traditional forms in sacrifices and prayers) gave them little influence in the community. They borrowed the explanations of their religious usages, and the fables relating to the divinities, from the poets, who were the authors of a great part of the mythology, without being particularly careful to preserve the traditions which they received, in their early purity. Nor is there any evidence, that philosophers often resorted to them for consultation upon subjects of morals or theology. Now all this does not indeed show, that the teaching of mysterious doctrines might not in some instances have been added to their other offices, but it shows at least the probability, that, if they were employed about something secret, it would be ceremonies, and not the inculcation of truth.

But when could the hierophant, or principal minister of the temple, have instilled his novel doctrines into the ears of the initiated? The mysteries were visited by vast crowds, and the only exclusion, in the best days of Greece, was for having committed murder, or at most, some great crime, and for not talking the Greek language. The doors were thrown open to the Romans, as may be gathered from the instances of Cicero and Augustus. It has been thought, indeed, that Athenian citizenship was requisite; but this is true only of the earlier times, before Athens attained to its eminence among the Grecian states. Hence Herodotus says, (8.65,) that "the Athenians celebrate a festival yearly in honor of Ceres and Proserpine, where those of their own number and of the other Greeks are initiated, who are desirous of it."

We learn, also, from several authors of the best times, that the right of admitting to the mysteries was not confined to the hierophant, but was lodged with any initiated person who wished to introduce a friend. The author of Plato's seventh letter numbers among the acts of ordinary friendship, to give entertainment, and to perform the office of a mystagogue; and this service was rendered to Dion, of Syracuse, by an Athenian,

who afterwards slew him. Nay, so familiar was the office of a mystagogue, that the very word came to denote a *cicerone*.

Add to this, that great inducements were held out, to bring crowds to the initiations. Not only was it commonly understood, that rare and strange shows were exhibited before the eyes of visitors; not only did the news spread abroad, that, in the silence of the night, the vast *cella* of the Eleusinium blazed with torches, and offered mystic sights; but it was taught, likewise, that men were better prepared, by being present at the mysteries, to appear before the infernal gods, to whose number Ceres and Proserpine belonged. And it was a common opinion, that the initiated alone were received, after death, to the abodes of the happy, and were permitted to banquet with the gods. Thus curiosity, the expectation of good, the force of example, the persuasions of friends, all contributed to fill the temple; so that the sophist Aristides could affirm, that the Athenians admitted more persons into the Eleusinium, than others into an entire city.

Now can it be believed, that on such an occasion, the hierophant taught doctrines inconsistent with the national religion in which doctrines the great worth of the mysteries lay, and from which the hopes of a happy lot after death were drawn; that, for instance, when a man entered the temple, he looked on Ceres and her associates as immortal gods, and that, when he left it, he had learned from her minister, that she was no immortal, and nothing more than a deified woman; that Socrates was put to death "for not holding those to be gods, whom the city held to be such," while the priests of the state taught the same thing, from year to year, with entire impunity, in spite of the laws, nay, under their sanction; that a part of the Athenians, perhaps most of the grown-up citizens, learned at Eleusis, that their public faith was based upon a lie, and there received hopes of immortality in the service of the one supreme God; but that, when they went home, they were privy to each other's hypocrisy in preserving the national worship as the foundation of morals; that, finally, initiated philosophers, whose wisdom rejected the vulgar Pantheon, searched after truth from age to age, when they had before their eyes such disclosures handed down by venerable tradition? We say, can all this be believed, without manifest absurdity? As rational, nearly, in our view, would it be to suppose, if nine tenths of the voters in the United States were freemasons, that the secret object of that society was, to over-

throw our republican forms, while yet the same individuals upheld these forms by law and arms.

But were there not *degrees* in the mysteries, it is asked, as there have been in many secret societies of modern times? Were there not *esoteric* and *exoteric* doctrines, which may have been different, if not opposed to one another? Those who have entertained such opinions have thought, that the crowd were amused in an outer part of the temple with shows and symbols, while a happy few were enjoying a treat of wisdom and truth within. Certain watchwords, also, or countersigns, have been conceived of, which placed it in the power of the priests to judge of the qualifications of the applicants for admission at the door of the *adytum*.

This idea of degrees, and of public and secret doctrines, which Warburton and others have propagated, is by no means irrational, and deserves to be fairly met. Yet it is fair, also, on the other hand, to say, that it is a very convenient refuge from difficulties, and a universal answer to objections. If we urge the evidence of some respectable author regarding the mysteries, it may be replied, that he had been advanced only to the first or second degree, while another, whom, from his usual character for rashness or levity, we think to have darkened the subject, and to have confounded various sorts of mysteries together, may have been of higher rank,—grand master, or high priest, or we know not what. It holds with this subject, as with crystals, which the vulgar call cubes, or rhomboids; but the mineralogist peels off layer after layer, until wholly new forms appear. If the authors of this opinion had thought also of suggesting, that a series of explanations of the mystic fables were given at the several stages, historical, physical, and theological, they would have finished a structure, which no evidence to the contrary could overthrow.

But, in the first place, this opinion is not borne out by the testimony in regard to countersigns, and the process of excluding unqualified persons. It is indeed true, that certain safeguards of this kind were introduced into the Phrygian and some of the Bacchic mysteries. But as these were mysteries attended with disgraceful fanaticism, and even licentiousness; as they were in the hands of private persons, and either forbidden, or only endured by the public authorities, there was very good reason why their secrets were kept under more than the usual seal. At Eleusis it was otherwise. There, it is not certain, although averred by most writers on this subject, that even an oath of secrecy was demanded; no evidence, we

believe, was called for of due qualification for admission; and the preservation of the secrets was guarded by the religious and civil penalties, to which the profaners of the mysteries were exposed. We learn from Livy, (xxxi. 14,) that two young Acarnanians entered the temple at Eleusis, with the throng,—“*imprudentes religionis*,” unacquainted with what the religion of the temple required with regard to initiation,—and were detected by their absurd questions relative to the rites. But, notwithstanding their ignorance, the officers of the temple seized and slew them; which act of violence brought on a war with the king of Macedon, about 200 years B. C. It appears from this narrative, that if they had held their peace, they might have gone through the ceremonies in safety.

We come next to the point of the degrees themselves. But in so doing, it will be necessary to examine a presumptive argument, which seems to have had no little weight in the minds of certain writers; we mean, that which is drawn from the practice of certain Greek philosophers, who are supposed to have had one doctrine for the people, or for tyros, and another for advanced scholars. It is argued, that they borrowed this custom from the mysteries, and that it was an established usage of the ancient world.

It is indeed true, that a distinction, such as is denoted by the terms *exoteric* and *esoteric*, existed in the schools of Pythagoras, Plato, and Aristotle; but its nature seems to be generally misapprehended. The two latter philosophers appear to have had no secrets,—no secret doctrine, at least,—and their exoteric and esoteric instructions differed, as the popular course of a lecturer on geology or botany differs from his scientific, or, as common algebra differs from the summation of series. Pythagoras, indeed, and his brotherhood, had secrets, which the ancients lost the knowledge of, and no modern is likely to know, unless some German shall dream them out; but the question is, To what did these secrets relate,—to doctrines kept from vulgar minds, or to the political projects of the order? The former is asserted by Origen, where he says, “that some heard the instructions of Pythagoras, *as he spoke*,” (i. e. having his unexplained words, and nothing more,) “while others in secret were taught truths, that were unfit to reach ears profane and not as yet purified.” But there is reason for regarding this language as containing a figure drawn from the mysteries, and as teaching nothing more than that the philosophers taught the practical and elementary parts of his system first, and to certain persons; intrusting

the theoretical parts to more advanced and maturer minds. Some of the most learned men of the present and the last age, as, Meiners, Boeckh, and Tenneman,* deny, that Pythagoras taught any secret doctrine, properly so called. The former, who has written at large on the history of the Pythagoreans, thus expresses himself: "Pythagoras had no need to be secret, after the manner of the Brahmins and other priests of eastern nations, who conceal their holy books so carefully, for the reason, namely, that the opinions which he inculcated were opposed to the public religion, and might, if incautiously imparted to a false or rash friend, have drawn persecution upon him. For his whole system was conformed to the main tenets of the Greek faith, and, had it run directly counter to them, would not, for that reason, have moved him to throw a veil over it; since, at his time, the distinction between orthodox and heterodox opinions in Greece was not known, and the crime of disbelief, which afterwards exposed Socrates and other philosophers to death or banishment, was yet unheard of. He could, therefore, like Xenophanes and his successors, have publicly taught new tenets opposed to the religion of the multitude, and have thrown ridicule upon the old sacred poets, or upon the reigning superstition, without being on that account in the least degree exposed to attack." And again, after saying, that reason and history alike oppose the idea, that the secrets of Pythagoras consisted in bare doctrines, he adds, that "no other supposition remains, but that the mysteries of Pythagoras were especially political secrets, which could not have been revealed without the greatest prejudice and danger accruing to the whole fraternity." To this we may add, that few subjects of antiquity are more uncertain and mixed with fables, than the life and discipline of Pythagoras, and, that the imputation of secret doctrines to his sect, is quite in the spirit of the later writers, from whom we derive most of our information concerning him.

The principal support for the notion of degrees in the mysteries, is also drawn from the later writers. One of these is Theo, of Smyrna, a mathematician, who flourished in the fifth century after Christ. He is comparing the parts of philosophy with the mysteries, which he divides into five stages. The

* Meiners, in his *History of the Sciences*, etc., i. 492, Tenneman, in his *History of Philosophy*, i. 95, Boeckh, in his *Life of Philolaus the Pythagorean*, p. 16. It is right to add, that Ritter, a recent writer, in his history of this sect, takes the opposite view.

introductory one, he says,* is purification ; the next, the being made acquainted with the sacred ceremonies ; the third, *epopty*, or actual inspection. The fourth we may call coronation, by virtue of which the initiated could institute others, and become eligible to the offices of hierophant and torch-bearer. The last, resulting from the foregoing, is felicity in the friendship and companionship of the gods. With regard to this evidence, we need only say, that it cannot apply to the Eleusinian festival, in which the officiating ministers belonged by hereditary right to certain Athenian families. Most probably the writer refers to some of the private mysteries connected with the superstitious philosophy that prevailed under the Roman emperors. Moreover, the distinctions are arbitrary, being accommodated to a division of philosophy into five parts. Another still later writer, Olympiodorus,† in his manuscript commentary on Plato's *Phaedo*, likewise makes a five-fold division in the mysteries, for the purpose of drawing a parallel between them and the grades of Platonic virtues. It may amuse our readers to know what these virtues are. The first class is that of the moral and political. Next in the scale are the purifying, or those which tend to clear away the rubbish of sensible things from the νοῦς, or pure reason. Then come the speculative,—the virtue of contemplating the objects of reason,—if we understand our author. When the reason contracts or concentrates its powers upon “the indivisible,” or upon genera, it attains the fourth stage; and the last, the highest virtue of a finite mind,—a virtue which Locke and other false deceivers never knew,—is the simple beholding of simple ideas. The parts of the mysteries, which this worthless Neo-Platonist makes analogous to these virtues, are so unlike those of Theon, (*epopty*, or inspection, which Theon calls the third, being the fifth,) that it is plain either, that they are talking about different things, or that the division is made for the sake of the comparison. Others again make three stages, and in a certain sense they are right. The truth concerning the whole matter appears to be as follows: the mysteries began with the *lesser*, as they are called, which consisted in purifying rites, and other preparatives for the *greater*, and were held near Athens, on the brook Ilissus. Some authorities seem to show, that there were lustrations even antecedently to

* Most of the quotations in this article, may be found in one or more of the works on the mysteries, so that more particular acknowledgment is unnecessary. We have either given the substance of a writer's thoughts, or have endeavored to do him justice in an English translation, without adding the original.

† St. Croix, 1.392.

these. Seven months afterward, the greater Eleusinian festival was held during nine days. Of the trifling ceremonies of the first four days passed at Athens, we need say nothing; on the fifth the initiated walked in a solemn procession, headed by the torch-bearer, with torches in their hands, to Eleusis, and appear to have passed the night there. The sixth, or most sacred day, was begun by conducting the image of Iacchus, with festal song, from the city to Eleusis, and the night closed with the *epopty*, in which the essence of the mysteries consisted. The ensuing days were devoted to jollity and sport, to an initiation of those who came too late, and to certain offerings. Now it appears from a passage of Plutarch's *Life of Demetrius*,* that those who had been received into the smaller mysteries might have a part in all the ceremonies of the greater next ensuing, except the *epopty*, which was not open to them until a year had expired. But this rule was violated to gratify King Demetrius, and we know, that it was afterwards broken in the cases of several Romans, whose stay at Athens was short. If, then, Plutarch is to be relied upon,—which has been doubted,—there were, certainly, three stages in the mysteries at this time, considering them with reference to the individual aspirants for admission; but only two, if we consider them with reference to the natural divisions of the mysteries themselves. We may reasonably suppose, that in early times this was a simple festival, occupying but one night. By degrees, in accordance with the spirit of heathenism, forms were multiplied, and a division, more or less rigidly adhered to, was introduced. But however this may be, as the stages were separated only by an interval of time, and as no one was excluded who wished to pass through them all, this circumstance brings us no nearer to the probability, that they were contrived for the purpose of drawing a line between those to whom a secret doctrine was intrusted, and those from whom it was withheld. Their origin is plainly to be referred to the desire of keeping curiosity upon the stretch, and of imparting greater solemnity to the mysteries. And we suppose, that all who once in their lives passed through the preparatives of the lesser mysteries, looked forward to the greater as the goal which in due time they were free to reach, and to which they might, when they pleased, return.

The manner in which the terms denoting the mysteries are figuratively used, has been drawn into an argument in favor of secret doctrines, and this point we will next examine. The

* Cap. 26.

terms to which we refer, are ὄργια, μυστήριον,* and τέλεσις, together with others belonging to the same families. The first and third are older, and also more general than the other. The first, perhaps by accident, was more specially appropriated to the enthusiastic and fanatical worship of Bacchus, and has hence given the modern word *orgies* a bad sense. The third, and its primitive τέλος, have been supposed by some to have received this meaning from the *expense* lavished on the mysteries; by others, from their being represented as the ultimate point or perfection of life. To this latter explanation Cicero accedes, and the excellent lexicographer Passow honors it with his approval. But we believe it to have been invented after the words came to have the meaning, and that, when so used, they at first denoted *consummation*, being applied to those closing rights, which formed the main part of a religious process; as the words denoting *beginning* were technically spoken of certain trifling rites at the commencement of a sacrifice. In neither of these words is the idea of secrecy properly contained, and they are by no means confined to the mysteries. The other word is more specific and technical. In explaining the figures into which these words enter, we may observe, that the mysteries can be thought of as something requiring initiation, and as something secret or unknown, and peculiarly holy. Hence whatever is like them in these respects, can have the same terms applied to it. The higher branches of science may be so called, either as abstruse and unknown to the vulgar, or as being reached by passing through the elementary parts; any symbol, fable, or doctrine, may have the name on account of its secret or recondite nature, or allegorical meaning; the Lord's Supper, inasmuch as it is a symbol, or the last stage which the catechumen was to pass; in fine, any sublime doctrine, whether secret or not, and any solemnity preceded by preparatory rites. So also Plutarch† calls life an initiation, as being that into which we are introduced by birth to behold the wonders of the divine mind; and the stars are called "mysteries in the heavens," on account of their secret astrological influence. It is evident,

* This word comes regularly through μύσθης, from μύειν, to *initiate*. It has been derived from the Hebrew *misthar*, a *hiding place*, (root *sathar*, he *hid*,) which is one of the many proofs, that an apt etymology for a word can be found in another language, where coincidence in sound is merely accidental. The two roots are no more alike than ὡσπερ and King Pepin. If we had known little or nothing about one of the two languages, such an accident would have given birth to many inferences. The first and second persons of the pronouns in the Atlantic Indian dialects and in Hebrew have a striking resemblance to another. Therefore these Indians are the lost ten tribes!

† On tranquillity of soul, § 20.

then, that the figures in which these words appear, cannot be forced into the cause of secret doctrines. An example of the use thus wrongly made of them, will illustrate this remark. Chrysippus, the Stoic, said, that the science concerning the gods was rightly called *teletae*, "because it ought to be studied last and after all the rest, when the soul had acquired something to lean upon, and was enabled to keep the secret from the uninitiated." He is speaking of the division of science, according to the Stoics, into logic, ethics, physics, and theology; and seems to say, that the last holds the same relation to the *teletae*, as the former to more ordinary sacred rites. The comparison turns upon the place which he assigns to the mysteries as the close of a set of ceremonies, and their secrecy is likewise brought into view. If we should argue from this passage, as has been done, that doctrines concerning the Deity were the secret of the mysteries, might we not, with equal reason, that logic and ethics were taught at the other rites, the absurdity of which is manifest? In like manner, Aristotle calls the highest part of philosophy *epoptic*, probably because it consisted in the reason's seeing simple truth, as the *epopts* saw the shows in the mysteries. These figures, which have been burdened with so much more than they can carry, are very frequent in more recent writers.

But perhaps the manner in which the Eleusinian mysteries are spoken of, and the good which the initiated expected to derive from them, imply the communication of some great truth, calculated to elevate the mind and to supply it with better hopes. Here we may pass by those passages in which the ancients express mere veneration of the mysteries, and confine ourselves to those in which something more definite is contained; premising only, that in most of them much is to be allowed for the style of poetry, or panegyric, in which they are written. The earliest is taken from the close of the Homeric hymn to Ceres. The poet there says, "Happy is he of earthly men who has seen these [rites.] But he who is uninitiated, and has no part in the solemnities, never has the same fortune, [with the other,] even when he is dead in the dreary region of darkness." Next we have a fragment of Pindar, preserved by Clement of Alexandria, where he seems to be speaking of a deceased person who had been initiated. "Happy is he," sings Pindar, "who has seen them [the mysteries] before he goes under the hollow earth; he knows the end of life, and knows its beginning which Jove has appointed." Here we may observe, in anticipation, that Pindar, putting his own construction upon the mysteries, makes them teach

the Pythagorean metempsychosis, to which several passages of his extant odes show that he was attached. Another passage of the same kind is taken from a lost play of Sophocles, in which he says, "that the initiated alone *live* in the world below, but others experience there all manner of evils." Plutarch, who has preserved this fragment, adds, that Diogenes, the Cynic, on hearing the mysteries praised in this way, asked whether Pataecion, the thief, would be better off in the future world because of his initiation, than such a man as Epaminondas, who, being a citizen of a rival and hostile state, had probably never been at Athens for this purpose. In these instances, it may be doubted whether the poets give their own view, and not rather that of those for whom they wrote. But Isocrates says in prose, that "they entertain more joyful hopes, with regard both to the end of life and to their whole being, who have had a part" in the rites of Ceres. The chorus of mystics in Aristophanes, says in substance the same thing: "that the sun and the light shine serenely for them alone;" but they add this important condition, that they continue in the practice of piety towards fellow-citizens and strangers. From passages of Plato it appears to have been taught, that the uninitiated wallowed in the mire of Orcus, or were forced to fill leaky tubs by means of sieves; which Socrates, in jest, interprets of those who cannot restrain their passions. Finally, the author of the dialogue entitled "*Axiochus, or On Death*," who was probably a disciple of Socrates, on the authority of a Persian magus, gives the initiated precedence of all others in the Elysian fields, where they are employed in acting over the solemn rites of the mysteries. He also says, that Hercules and Bacchus, before they descended to the infernal world, had part in the mysteries, "their courage to take the last journey being enkindled at Eleusis." These passages, all from writers of the best age, render farther citations from later and inferior authors quite unnecessary. They furnish ample proof of the high value set upon the mysteries of Eleusis,* and of the good which was expected from initiation after death.

* How Socrates and Plato considered them, is not so clear. Socrates is said, on insufficient grounds, never to have been initiated, and his reason for so doing has been guessed to be, that he thought concerning things divine as the priests did, and was unwilling to come under an obligation not to divulge such important truths. He had found the secret out, it seems, without being told it. Why was not a cry raised against him on account of his proclaiming it, and not on account of his bringing in new divinities? Plato borrows metaphors from the mysteries, and often in so sportive a way, that he can hardly be supposed to have felt for them the ordinary reverence. Of the initiations into the other mysteries then practiced at Athens, he speaks, as we shall see, in very severe terms.

But it is to be observed, in the first place, that the veneration felt for the mysteries is entirely accounted for from the solemnity with which they were held, in the silence of night, under the veil of secrecy, and in honor of gods belonging to the infernal world. If even intelligent Catholics have often been filled with awe, when standing in Loretto, before the "holy house" of the virgin, which came miraculously through the air across the Adriatic; if the ceremonies of Rome have produced such awe in the minds of Protestants, as sometimes to cause them to change their faith; shall we wonder at the superstitious feeling excited in a pagan breast, under circumstances best fitted to inspire it?

It seems to us, that they who lay stress upon this point have not entered into the spirit of the ancient world. The reverence which we entertain for God and his attributes, was aroused in heathen breasts by what we regard with contempt or disgust; and this feeling was not destroyed even in the minds of the philosophers. This consideration will explain some of that inconsistency which has been laid to the credit of hypocrisy. It has been supposed, that the philosophers must in their hearts have rejected the national worship, and yet in many cases conformed to it before the world. But the truth is, that they were often under the dominion of a sort of superstition, from which it is hard for a man, or a few men, to escape, when all around them are involved in it. Their views of the Godhead were not clear enough to enable them to transfer to the being after whom they searched, that faith and fear which their countrymen felt for their ancestral gods. And so while they reasoned upon the attributes of the Deity, their awe was roused by the solemnities of the national worship. But if it was so with them, how much greater the veneration in the minds of the vulgar.

We observe again, that the good expected from the mysteries does not appear to have been referred to moral instruction, but to simple participation in a solemn kind of religious observance. It was the being present at them, which rendered men happy when they left this world. This idea resolves itself into that more general one, which is the parent of piety as well as of superstition, that they who approach the divine being in acts of worship, do something acceptable in his sight and secure his favor. If the comic poet, Philemon, could say of all who worshiped the gods, "that they had good hopes of safety," how much more could this be said in the case of rites for which great preparation was necessary; especially when these rites were performed in honor of divinities who

had to do with the soul after death. The public worship was throughout an *opus operatum*; lustrations cleansed from guilt; sacrifices and incense won favor and averted wrath; votive offerings purchased rescue in the hour of peril,—such was the spirit of heathenism in its public form. How can we then suppose, that in its multitude of secret forms all this was reversed, and that a mode of thinking, to which the Jews, with all the moral instruction of God, scarcely attained, was familiar to a large part of the Greeks? And that, too, when these secret forms were founded upon the same mythology, and, so far as they can be traced, did not differ from the public ones in their essence.

But was not something of high import transacted before the eyes of the spectators at the mysteries? How could Pindar otherwise say, that the initiated knew the beginning and end of the human soul? Nor will we suppress the evidence of Plato, in his *Meno*, (81. B.,) where Socrates is made to say, that “he has heard from men and women who were wise in regard to things divine,—from priests and priestesses, who had made it their study to be able to render a reason for what they had to do,—that the soul of man is immortal, and at one time ends its being, which they call to die, and at another comes [again] into existence, but never is destroyed.” Here, however, the words point to such persons as, unlike other priests, had penetrated into the spirit of their ceremonies, and therefore show, that this knowledge was gained by private study, and not by the aid of tradition. Again, there is nothing in the words to lead us to the belief, that this doctrine of these priests and priestesses was expressed at the celebration of mysteries, or in any other way, except by private conversation. That it was no part of the secret doctrine, is indeed clear; otherwise, Plato would not have dared to divulge it. Nor is it certain who these individuals are,—whether officers at Eleusis, or connected with the Orphic mysteries, into which Pythagorean opinions are known to have largely entered. But of this in another place: at present we will add, that when the orator Andocides was charged with profaning the mysteries, he is said, by Lysias,* “to have gone through with an exhibition of the sacred things before the uninitiated, and to have spoken with his voice the secrets.” There were then *secrets*, which conveyed knowledge concerning the soul, and who knows but recondite doctrines were preached? And unless we show what the secrets consisted in, as well as disprove the

* Contr. Andocid., near the beginning.

probability of secret *doctrines*, we may fail of lodging conviction in the minds of our readers.

We are, however, no hierophants, and will leave that office to Warburton, who guides his readers through the sacred rites, as if he were a lineal successor of the Eumolpidae. Whether he reveals the mysteries, or unfolds the dark meaning of Shakspeare, it is done with equal boldness, and, we may add, with equal success. All that we shall strive to show, is, what kind of secret was imparted to the worshipers at Eleusis.

The Greeks had a great variety of sacred deposits in their temples, some of which almost approach, in their marvelous nature, any that the Catholics have preserved. The skin of the Erymanthian bear, indeed, laid up at Tegea, does not equal the bones of the eleven thousand virgins at Cologne; nor does the brazen pot, visible at Sicyon, in which Pelias was boiled, rival the bone of one of the cherubim; but where shall we find a parallel to the egg of Leda, suspended in a temple at Sparta; or to the anvils which Jupiter hung upon Juno's feet, and which the *cicerones* of the Troad had to show; unless it be, in a ray of the star which shone before the three wise men of the East? Certain temples, again, had treasures which were kept entirely secret, or exposed to view only at stated times; such as the Palladiums, on which the welfare of the State was in some places thought to depend. In festive, especially in mystical processions, certain furniture of the temples was carried about under cover, and only exhibited to initiated worshipers. On occasion of the Circensian games, at Rome,* a boy, having looked down from an upper room, and observed in what order the "*secreta sacrorum*" were placed in the chest, told it to his father, who made it known to the senate. A pestilence was raging at the time, and an oracle had responded, that it was owing to contempt cast upon the gods. The senate spread a curtain where the procession was wont to pass, and the plague ceased. Such sacred deposits are often spoken of in connection with the mysteries, whether they were chests containing curiosities, or images of gods. Thus Themistius, a rhetorician of the fourth century after Christ, compares his father, an interpreter of Aristotle, to a minister at the mysteries uncovering the statues before the initiated, and at the same time admitting the light. And, in particular, it is apparent from several authorities, that the images of the gods worshiped at Eleusis,—Ceres, Proserpine, and Iacchus,—were there unveiled, while a sacred fire shone

* Macrob. Saturnal, i. 6.

upon the darkness of the night. Some of these sacred deposits, as being less holy or wonderful than others, were called "the first of the sacred things;" the remaining ones being reserved for a later period of the celebration, or for another occasion.

And not only were such things presented to the eyes of visitors, but it is proved, also, that they were the important part of the solemnity, by the fact, that the words denoting the greater mysteries refer to the sight. The initiated were said to *see* the mysteries: before, they were called *mystae*, but then, they became *epoptae*, i. e., inspectors, lookers-on. The principal minister was said to *show the sacred things*, and was hence called a *hierophant*. The next officer in dignity was the *daduchus*, or *torch-holder*, because torches under his direction guided the procession without, and lighted up the temple within. So important a part in the show was given to this *sacred light*, that the whole festival was sometimes called *the fire*. And the term most expressive of that, to which the initiated attained, was *autopsia*, or *personal inspection*, as contrasted with the oral communications of the prior stages. Indeed, the temple was too vast for anything besides shows and sacred hymns, or something of that description. Strabo says, that it equaled a theater in size, and modern measurements of the ruins make the *cella*, or inner part, to be about two hundred feet square. Unlike most temples, this was the only original part, until a colonnade in front, or *prostyle*, was added, after the time of Alexander. Even the lungs of a Whitefield would be unable to fill so great a space, unless the voice were aided by the tragic mask.

We do not mean to deny, that anything was spoken on this occasion: this is rendered certain, by a passage that has been cited. But we mean to affirm, that, so far as can be shown, it differed in nothing from the language of the public ceremonies. Pausanias, in mentioning certain secret rites, says, that, "it is not lawful for him to commit to writing what was wont to be said at the time of the libations, nor the hymns which were sung." And so, in all probability, prayers and hymns formed the whole of the oral communications made at Eleusis. The sacred hymn called *Iacchus*, which was sung in the procession, seems also to have been repeated at the temple. That this or other songs may have contained allusions to the destiny of the soul in the realms of Proserpine, is very possible, and it would be exceedingly natural if the partakers in the mysteries were praised, as alone to be happy there; but as we have no such songs handed down to us, except two Orphic hymns

in honor of Ceres and Proserpine, which Creuzer thinks to be like them, it would be idle to guess what were their contents.

According to St. Croix, greater and more startling shows were exhibited in the mysteries of Eleusis, than we have spoken of. "The aspirants," says he, "plunged in the horrors of night, and seized with dread, waited in the vestibule for the gates to open. The temple shakes,—cries Claudian,—the thunderbolt spreads a glittering light, which announces the presence of the divinity; a dull sound is heard from the depths of the earth; the house of the Cecropidae re-echoes the sound; Eleusis raises its sacred torches; the snakes of Sriptolemus hiss; afar off appears the triple Hecate. This description, although poetic, differs little from the details which several authors furnish us in regard to the show presented to the eyes of the initiated. The aspirant heard various voices, according to Dion Chrysostom; light and darkness struck his senses by turns; scarcely could he view the many objects which offered themselves to his sight. The principal were phantoms, having the figure of a dog, and divers forms of monsters, calculated to arouse terror, which the noise of thunder and the lightning rendered still more frightful. Hence arose those groans, that dread, those shocks, those sweats, which cause Plutarch to compare the condition of a man during initiation, with that of a dying person." Add to this, that in the opinion of some, Elysium and Tartarus were represented to the view in all their details.

We should think less highly than we do of the mysteries, and more so of ancient art, if we could believe all this. Truly to execute the problem contained in such wonderful shows, would require the ablest pyrotechnists and scene-painters of modern times, and a witch of Endor besides. But Lobeck makes it clear, that St. Croix has brought into his picture the imaginations of poets, the juggling shows of the theurgists, (of whom we shall by and by speak,) and much that was left for the mind—highly excited as it then was—to conceive of. Nor do we suppose, that St. Croix thought, that any part of all this existed in very ancient times, before the rise of painting, and its use in the theater, and before festivals became expensive among the Athenians. At first, as we have before hinted, the mysteries can have been nothing more than simple rites performed in the dark, in honor of infernal gods. But the superstitious inventions of man go on multiplying, until the spirit which gave them birth expires; because forms have continually less influence in arousing awe and veneration.

A remarkable passage of Clement of Alexandria bears upon

this part of our subject, which it would be wrong not to cite. The Fathers, in general, are but poor authority concerning the mysteries, since they are too apt to rely on insufficient evidence, and to confound various kinds of mysteries together. Thus, when Tertullian says, that the only secret of the higher mysteries was an impure symbol, he manifests more zeal against them than knowledge. And other Fathers lay the scene of the vile rites which pertained to the Phrygian mysteries, at Eleusis; whereas the two were essentially distinct, the Phrygian being private and fanatical, while those of Ceres were publicly authorized and sober. But Clement is a good witness, as a man of learning and due impartiality: let us look at his testimony. He is comparing* the stages in the mysteries with a man's progress in christianity, from his first profession of it until he has arrived at that state of *γνῶσις*, in which, having by abstraction overcome the illusions of sense, and obtained an idea of the "monad," or unity, "he throws himself into the greatness of Christ," and so attains to the intelligence of the Almighty, having then no more to learn, and being occupied only in beholding. "Not inappropriately," says he, "do purifying rites form the beginning of the mysteries among the Greeks, as the bath among the barbarians, [i. e., as baptism among the christians.] After these are the lesser mysteries, which have for their foundation instruction and preparation for what is to come afterward. But in regard to the greater, it no longer remains to receive instruction concerning the universe, but to behold [*ἐποπτεύειν*, perform the part of an *epopt.*] and to contemplate nature and things." Here it is to be observed, that Clement, as duly became the allegorizing divines of Alexandria, takes it for granted, that the *mythi* and symbols of the mysteries should receive a philosophical interpretation. With this point we have now nothing to do, and have brought forward the passage for the purpose of showing, that in the greater mysteries no doctrine whatever was disclosed. No room remains, then, for such disclosure, except at the smaller, to which, we believe, that honor has not been assigned by modern writers. But this important passage, against the spirit of the context, has been forced by Warburton and others to mean just the contrary of what our translation—which is nearly that of Villosion†—represents it. In his words it is, "After these are the lesser mysteries, in which is laid the

* Stromata, lib. 5, p. 689, ed. Potter.—For the *γνῶσις* of the Alexandrine divines, here mentioned, see Neander's Church History, vol. i. part 4, § 2, 6.

† De triplici theologia in St. Croix, at the end of vol. ii.

foundation of the hidden doctrines, and preparation for what is to come afterwards. The doctrines delivered in the greater mysteries are concerning the universe. Here all instruction ends; things are seen as they are; and nature, and the things of nature, are given to be comprehended." (Divine Legation, 1. 205, 220, ed. of 1766.) But this translation is untenable on more than one account. In the first place, the bishop turns διδασκαλίας ὑπόθεσιν ἔχοντα into "in which is laid the foundation of the hidden doctrines," but in truth the doctrine or instruction is itself the foundation. And again, τὰ δὲ μέγала περὶ συμ-πάντων he separates from the following words, οὐ μανθάνειν ἔτι ὑπολείπεται, and supplies the verb *to be*, which leaves the sentences disconnected. Instead of giving the simple English of his phrase thus formed, he says, "*the doctrines delivered in the greater mysteries are concerning the universe;*" which is thrusting his own views into Clement's words. Finally, loose as is his version of the subsequent part, it will not serve his turn. For if the mysteries were concerning the universe, and instruction ended with them, the "seing things as they are," was something subsequent. But Clement's carefully-chosen word is ἐποπτεύειν, which, as we have seen, denotes the very essence and crowning act of the mysteries.

The instruction at the lesser mysteries, which is here spoken of, could have been in reality of little importance, if any initiated person could induct others on these occasions. Whether it related to the sacred furniture, to the fables of Ceres and Proserpine, or to the mode of conducting one's self at the greater solemnities, or to what else, we are not able to determine.

But we ask pardon of such of our readers as have followed us through a dry criticism,—a crime which we will promise not to commit again,—and pass on to the next argument in support of secret doctrines. Granting, it will be said, that the eye alone was appealed to in the mysteries, still, the shows were symbols, and these symbols were of easy interpretation. Secret doctrines, then, were really conveyed, if not by words; and the ministers of Ceres may have carried the key along with them from age to age. This agrees, it will farther be said, with the typical part of the old testament, with the meaning of sacrifice, and, in general, with the mode of instruction prevalent in the ancient world, especially in those countries which gave the first spring to the human mind.

Here we approach a difficult topic. If, on the one hand, we acknowledge the early prevalence of symbols and types, shall we go all lengths with Philo, and allegorize the plainest parts

of the scriptures? Shall we say with Clement,* that the words in Leviticus i. 6, "and he shall flay the burnt offering," denote "the soul denuded of the slough of matter, devoid of corporeal folly and of all those affections which vain and false opinions inspire?" Shall we, unlike St. Paul, find hallowed truth in all the rites, however obscene, of ancient heathenism? Or, on the other hand, shall we indorse with our *ignoramus* all the discoveries of the symbolists, and be blind to the striking explanations which are thought to prove their own truth? In our present state of partial illumination as to these matters, we dare go to neither extreme. Our prevailing impression is, that much in heathen rites was at first symbolical, that much arose from the customs of common life, and that much was accommodated to the fables of the poets,—which again, if ever of symbolical import, were in the course of time so disguised and changed, that the key to them is often lost. But happily we may pass around so thorny a field. For if it can be shown, that the ancients had no received and orthodox interpretation of their fables and rites; and that the systems in vogue were the recent offspring of philosophic brains; then, we think, it will not be contended, that they were coeval with the fables themselves, or that they carry with them any more weight than ought to belong to an ingenious explanation of modern times.

But before we discuss this point, it is best to look at the particular doctrines, which are alledged to have been taught in the mysteries of Ceres. The first which we shall mention is that regarding *the immortality of the soul*. It may be said, as Ceres and Proserpine were infernal gods, there was pertinence in connecting with their worship truths relating to the future world; and as they were deities of husbandry, the symbols of the seed sown in the earth, the phenomena of reviving and decaying vegetation, and the like, were easily transferred to the birth and death of man, to his abode within the earth, and to his essential existence when all of him that was visible had perished. Let us grant this, although believing, that these symbols were not at first intended to have such a meaning, yet we ask, from what quarter arose the application of such symbols? Did a sign originate a truth, and one term of a comparison give birth to another? Certainly not. The symbol, if used of the human soul, derived its force from an opinion already held,—a doctrine previously taught. Was, then, the doctrine in question a secret one, or was it not an article of

* Stromata 5, p. 686.

national faith, at least from the time when the eleventh book of the *Odyssey* was written? Imperfectly taught we allow it to have been, and but little developed at the age of Homer. In the *Odyssey* the souls of the deceased are dreamy existences. Their condition is painted rather in colors drawn from the gloom of the grave, than in those of cheerful hope. A few notorious offenders are condemned to punishment. The Elysian fields, a delightful region at the extremity of the earth, cooled by the breezes of the ever-flowing ocean, is the portion, not of all the good, but of a few favored by Jupiter. Afterwards all this was made more distinct,—Charon, and the other shapes and drapery of the infernal world, were introduced, perhaps from abroad, and the exhibition of divine vengeance and reward was carried out into more details. But nothing of all this, if taught in the mysteries, was secret: we have it all from those panders to popular superstition, the poets, who, more than all other persons, propped up and embellished heathenism.

Again: it was a form of the doctrine concerning the continued existence of the soul, that it returned again to inhabit a body, either at once, or after a lapse of time. To this we have already had occasion to allude; its origin among the Greeks is ascribed to Pythagoras, "who first of his countrymen ventured to say, that though his body would die, his soul would fly away, unassailed by death or age, for it existed before it came into this world."* The school of this philosopher taught also, that the miseries of this life are a punishment for crimes committed in a previous existence. The influence of these opinions was wide-spread. They tintured the philosophy of the Platonists, they appear in the poetry of Virgil, and they were inculcated in certain mysteries. Whether this is true of the Eleusinian, is doubtful; but there is full proof, that they entered into the Orphic mysteries, or those of Bacchus. Hence Plutarch, in a letter of consolation to his wife upon the decease of their young daughter, draws an argument in favor of early death, from the "mystic symbols of the orgies relating to Bacchus, into which they both had been initiated." The argument is, that when the soul again returns to a body, it is less exposed to the bad influence of bodily passions, as it had less time to form earthly habits, which cling to it after its departure and its second birth. Arnobius, too, (2. 16,) talks of that "*quod in secretioribus mysteriis dicitur, in pecudes atque alias belluas ire animas improborum.*" But we observe in the

* Maximus of Tyre, diss. 28, p. 286, ed. Davis.

first place, that this was no secret doctrine, being taught with all openness by philosophers, who knew how to keep their own secrets. Again, as appears from the passage of Plutarch, it was taught by symbols : now these symbols may have been forced into such a meaning, or may have been brought into the mysteries after the age of Pythagoras. And either one of these suppositions is true, or we must find an earlier source than Pythagoras for the doctrine, contrary to the opinion of the Greeks. We know, indeed, that the doctrine was contained in those lost Orphic poems, which were freely used by the new Platonists ; but these poems are certainly not prior to the age of Pythagoras, and Aristotle and others ascribe some of them to individuals among his disciples. It is argued also, that the doctrine may have passed into the Bacchic mysteries from the Thracians, the countrymen of Orpheus, because Herodotus (5. 4) says of one of their tribes, that when a child is born they bewail its birth, but when a person dies they bury him with gladness, as being freed from evil and in all happiness. That they, like most nations, believed the soul to be immortal, is very likely ; but all that this passage shows, is, that they looked on existence here as an evil, and were glad when it ended,—much as Sophocles sings :

Not to be born is far the best ;
But if we see the light of day,
He, who the soonest that he may,
Goes whence he came, is blest.

And so even Job felt under the pressure of suffering.

We will only add, that the doctrine, so far as it was sanctioned by the mysteries, had no more moral power than in the mouths of the vulgar. The rewards of a future life were no more spiritual, so far as can be ascertained, than the poets represented them ; and, as we have already seen, to be initiated was a condition of entrance into Elysium, and covered a multitude of sins.

We come next to that which Warburton considers the great secret of the mysteries of Ceres,—that the deities of popular worship were dead mortals, and that there was one supreme God. The hierophant all but read from the scriptures : “ the gods of the heathen are vanity and a lie ;” the Lord is one God.

The evidence by which Warburton supports this discovery is scanty. An important passage occurs near the beginning of Cicero's *Tusculan Questions*, where he is trying to show the immortality of the soul from the authority of the ancients. For this purpose he asks, “ is not the whole heaven filled with the human race ?” i. e. with deified mortals. “ Nay,” continues

he, "they who are accounted the *dii majorum gentium* will be found to have gone from among us on earth to heaven." He then adds, "*Quaere quorum demonstrantur sepulchra in Graeciâ: reminiscere, quoniam es initiatus quae traduntur in mysteriis: tum denique, quam hoc late pateat intelliges.*" As Circero had been initiated into the mysteries of Ceres, one of the principal divinities, there can be little question that he has them here in his eye. In the first part of the passage, he refers especially to the Cretan pretense, that Jupiter was buried in their island, and that his sepulcher was preserved. Diodorus of Sicily again says, (5. 77,) that the Cretans asserted, that the rites which they openly practiced, became mysteries in other lands where they were carried, as in Attica, and that what was secret elsewhere no one among them sought to conceal. For most of the gods proceeded from Crete, and traversed many parts of the world, benefitting the human race.—And from the context it appears, that the blessings conferred on mankind by these missionaries from some theological school on the island, were largely set forth in the mysteries. These worthies, it would seem, laid their bones among the savages whom they enlightened, and after death received the honors of canonization. It is true, indeed, that the credit of the Cretans for truth-telling was at a low ebb in antiquity. Hence Callimachus says, in his hymn to Jupiter, "the Cretans are always liars, for they have fabricated thy sepulcher. But thou art not dead, but dost exist forever." But he had not made the historical discovery which has shed so much light upon the world.

Now with regard to this supposed secret, we observe, that we cannot share the credulity of those who can believe, that the mysteries, up to a certain point, coincided with the national faith, in recognizing deities essentially distinct in their nature from mankind; that they were supported by the same laws and opinion which supported the public faith; and yet, that on a sudden they turned round and struck such a blow at that faith as must soon have laid it prostrate. But in addition to this, we contend, that it can be shown when the doctrine in question was first propagated, that it was regarded as impious at first, and that it was only a private interpretation of something that took place in the mysteries. And this leads us to what we have to say concerning the explanations of heathenism, which were in vogue in ancient times.

There was a period, we think it is evident, when the mythology was honestly received for truth by all men throughout Greece. If the gods were at first personifications of phys-

ical powers or objects, yet their personality was then undoubted, and the process by which they became persons was forgotten. If the fables were in any measure symbolical, there was no key to their meaning. To the mind of that age, the world was filled with living powers far superior to man, but possessed of human desires. The poets were the national guides, and as they carried the fables from one State to another, put them in a new dress, or invented them, as the novelists of the time, they greatly extended the compass of mythology. And as in process of time the imagination of the people became cooler, before credulity had received a check, that even which earlier poets meant for drapery and ornament, was received as sober matter of fact. Thus if there is any historical foundation for the poems of Homer, as we think there is, yet there can be no doubt, that a large part of the incidents are fictitious, without any intention on the part of the poet to deceive. Yet these very fictions influence to a great extent the history, and so called traditions of later times. All this is not rash assertion, but is argued from what appears to be the spirit of heathenism in an unenlightened age, and from the great change which can be shown to have taken place in the minds of many after the rise of philosophy.

For in a course of ages morals, physics, and metaphysics, became studied in Greece, and it was perceived, that the popular faith was inconsistent with the results of the sciences. The thoughtful mind felt, that the ancient gods were far below that moral standard to which even many just men attain; and we necessarily attach moral perfection, so far as we understand what it is, to the Divinity. The laws of matter, too, and of mind, as developed by philosophy, would naturally lead men to new conclusions concerning the gods. Add to this, that when historical evidence began to be weighed, the falsity of many fables, and their inconsistency with each other, would soon be found out. Now in this new era, what was the treatment of the old faith by the philosophers? Some boldly inveighed, as Xenophanes of Elea, in very early times, against the theology taught by Homer and Hesiod, and sought to introduce another view of the Deity. Others became rank atheists. Such were some of the Cyrenaic school, as Theodore, though not for moral reasons. "The atheist would not say of the deity," affirms Plutarch,* "that it is perishable, nor yet did they believe, that there is anything imper-

* *Op. Moral*, 8. 47, ed. Hutten. For the passage we are indebted to Tenneman.

ishable, thus at once leaving no room for the existence of the imperishable, and preserving the *idea* of God," i. e. maintaining, that, if there were any God, he must be an imperishable being. But most minds, as we have said before, could not escape from the dominion of reigning opinion entirely, especially on the subject of religion, where, on the one hand, stood the venerated and awful forms of ancient time, ready to vindicate their profaned worship, and on the other, a God darkly seen through many doubts, whom they knew not how to approach. Now it is such minds, perhaps, that first made a compromise between mythology and science, by turning the fables into allegories. And as faith in heathenism grew weaker, and scepticism stronger, many others followed in their train, who, without any belief in the gods supposed, that ancient times were as wise as themselves, shared their philosophy and expressed it in symbols. A baser motive, too, may have led other sceptics into the same course, after men began to be persecuted for their religious opinions. They feared to oppose the public religion, and so made it hypocritically the drapery with which they clothed their systems. Lastly, others contributed to the same habit, who only applied the fables in the inculcation of truth, by way of accommodation, without supposing, that such was their meaning.

But this must have been in some degree a natural process; otherwise, the force which was put upon the true sense of mythology would have been quite apparent. Two circumstances facilitated its progress. One is, the actual recurrence of symbols in heathenism, and the other, the ease with which a mind starting upon a track of resemblances will hunt them up. Let our readers but apply what we say to the typical, allegorical, and spiritual interpreters of the old testament, and they will need no other illustration of this remark. Or, let them think of the abuse of figurative language in the new testament, which some sects explain entirely away, while others burthen the figures with a weight of truth, which they cannot carry, and it will be apparent how easily the human mind is led astray in regard to the explanation of figures and symbols.

The earliest allegorical interpretation of Homer—one of the great storehouses of mythology—is assigned, by the celebrated Wolf,* to the era of the death of Pisistratus, (about 560 B. C.) Socrates and Plato, it appears, applied Homer thus, only in sportive accommodation, and to grace their discourse. There

* Prolegomena to Homer, sec. 36.

is yet extant a treatise of one Heraclitus, (or Heraclides, as he is commonly called,) a Stoic of an uncertain age, upon the allegories of the poet. This foolish writer's views may be expressed in the following syllogism: Homer was either impious in his representation of the gods, or he said one thing and meant another, i. e., used allegory. But he was too fine a poet, too much read by young and old, to allow of our supposing, that he was guilty of impiety. Therefore he used allegory. And therefore, we may add, if a hundred dunces should invent a hundred allegorical explanations of Homer, one moral, another physical, and so on, they must doubtless all be true.

A single example will show the method which Heraclides takes. In the first book of the Iliad, Achilles is said to have drawn his sword in his wrath against Agamemnon, when lo! Minerva descended:

At his back she stood,
To none apparent, save himself alone,
And seized his golden locks. Startled, he turned,
And instant knew Minerva. *(Cowper's Transl.)*

Upon this passage, Heraclides says, that the rational part of the soul dwells in the upper part of the head, the feelings in the heart, the desires in the liver. During the anger of Achilles, the garrison in the breast got the better of the head; and the epiphany of the goddess consisted in the return of reason, the compunctious visitings of which may certainly be likened to pulling the hair. And this is not a moral lesson forced out of Homer's words, but what he really meant! Still more ridiculous is what a scholiast on the Odyssey asserts, that when Homer represents Penelope weaving, he means to speak of the art of logic, the threads denoting the premises and conclusion, and the torches which gave her light during her work, the light of reason. And so the gods were turned into moral qualities: thus Jupiter was explained to be Intelligence, and Minerva, Art.

The physical interpretation began early, and had far more to recommend it than the moral. For even in the earliest Greek theogonies, Earth, Ocean, the Sun, and Heaven, are placed among the gods. It is hardly necessary to say, that this theory has had a very extensive application to religion, from the time when a scholar of Pythagoras taught, that Loxias, the name of Apollo, is derived from λοξός, oblique, denoting the path of the sun in the ecliptic, to our age, in which Dupuis has maintained, that Christ and the apostles had no personal existence, but were symbols of the sun and the twelve signs! The variety of meanings given to the same

deity, or fable, embracing all kinds of natural objects, show, either, that a vast many systems of interpretation were current in ancient time, or, that there was no system, and only a chaos of isolated explanations. Thus, at one time, Bacchus was the *sun*; at another, the fable of Zagreus, or Bacchus, torn to pieces by the Titans, denoted the pruning of the vine and the pressing of the grapes. Jupiter is now the *rain*, and now the *heaven*, Juno the *air* and the *earth*, and the Roman god Janus—as Varro says—alii *coelum*, alii dixerunt esse *mundum*.^{*} In such explanations, etymology, and that usually of the most absurd kind, often played a principal part, as may be seen in the second book of Cicero's treatise de natura deorum. We possess the book of Cornutus, On the Nature of the Gods,[†] which illustrates this last remark, as well as the want of a settled principle of interpretation. He makes Pan the *universe*, (from $\tau\omicron\ \pi\acute{\alpha}\nu$.) and yet Jupiter *the soul of the world*. But while Jupiter is thus spiritualized, Pluto is merely the lower or denser *air* near the earth. Minerva is *providence*, and Juno again *the air*. Adonis (a foreign deity) seems to be the seed sown in the earth, and is so called from satisfying us with bread, (from $\acute{\alpha}\delta\epsilon\iota\nu$.) In the Homeric fable, where Jupiter is said to have fastened Juno between heaven and earth, with anvils hanging from her feet, the golden chain which bound her denotes the stars, and the anvils the earth and the sea. But enough of this. For it is at once evident, that such far-fetched explanations were bad guesses, coming from men ignorant of the spirit of early times, rather than expressive of the views of antiquity itself.[‡]

The metaphysical interpretation of mythology seems to have been of a later date. For they who lived near the time of the origin of philosophy, could not easily have been brought to believe, that the poets and priests of rude ages were acquainted with those opinions, which passed for the discoveries of recent date. But, when the beginning of philosophy was forgotten, it did not seem very absurd, that Plato should express in common language, what the venerable men of primitive times had wrapped in fables and hidden under symbols. An instance of this mode of interpretation, as practiced by the new Platonists, may be seen in the fable of Zagreus,

^{*}Augustin. de Civ. Dei, Lib. 7, where much will be found on this point.

[†]In Gale's collection of Greek mythographers.

[‡]Many more illustrations might be added, for this was the prevailing mode of explaining the fables. Strabo confesses, that there was no certain guide to their meaning, but thinks, that by comparing them together, their sense may be conjectured. (Lib. x. p. 474.) A praiseworthy modesty.

already alluded to, which was a prominent part of the Orphic poems and mysteries. The fable taught, that Zagreus, or Bacchus, the son of Jupiter and Proserpine, was attacked by the Titans, and slain, at the instigation of Juno. His body, excepting the heart, was torn apart by them, and cooked for food. In punishment for this crime, they were cast into Tartarus, and from the ashes of their bodies burnt by the thunderbolt, the race of men arose. The meaning of this dismemberment was, that Bacchus was the soul of the world, of which our souls are fragments.—And this soul of the world proceeds from the Divine mind, as did Bacchus from Jupiter. Again, when Bacchus was slain, his heart, being preserved, was carried to Jupiter, who swallowed it, and produced another Bacchus. This, in other writers, denoted the return of the soul to the Divinity. It is probable, that these explanations were not invented by the Platonists, but derived from the mysteries of Bacchus, for which reason they passed for undoubted truths.

The historical interpretation began as early as the rise of history, in the attempts of writers to take away the marvelous from single fables, and bring them down to the level of experience. Thus one of the earliest historians ascribes the origin of the story concerning Cerberus, to a poisonous serpent lying at the mouth of a cavern, on the promontory of Taenarus. The treatise, or rather abridgment of the treatise, by Palae-phatus,* part of which is in the school-books, will show the degree of critical sagacity of a later writer. The treatise is called, "On Incredible Stories;" but to us it appears, that most of the explanations are as incredible as the stories themselves.

It was not until after the time of Alexander, that the Greek Pantheon was assailed upon historical grounds. Then arose a wholesale dealer in this kind of criticism, in the person of Euemerus, a Sicilian of Messina, whom the general, Cassander, furnished with money, and sent upon his travels. Euemerus started with the morals and philosophy which he had learned in the Cyrenaic school of Theodore the Atheist. On his return, he professed to have visited an island in India, settled by Cretans, and called Panchaea, where, on a pillar, were inscribed the lives and deaths of several of the principal gods. The story calls for a serious refutation about as much as the book of Mormon; and to no one can the words of Juvenal,

Quicquid Graecia mendax audet in historia,

* Also in Gale's collection.

be more fully applied. Strabo, that truly honest writer, does not scruple, in two places, to rank him among the most lying of travelers; and the academic philosopher, in Cicero's book *On the Nature of the Gods*, thinks, that his theory overthrew all religion. He gained the name of atheist, as well as that of liar; and from the execration in which he was held, we might fairly argue, if argument were wanted, that he brought some new and strange thing to the ears of the Greeks. So much, however, may be said for him, that he took the hint for his story from that of the veracious Cretans concerning the tomb of Jove, to which allusion has been made, and that he may have believed his theory, though he framed a lie to support it.

It is remarkable, that this man's views were early made known to the Romans, by the poet Ennius, who translated his work into Latin. The philosophers of that nation seem to have been as much attached to this way of accounting for the popular gods as to any other. Euhemerus stood high also in the favor of the Fathers, partly because he furnished them with an effectual weapon against paganism, and partly because they espoused his views. Thus Augustin* speaks of his historical diligence; and Clement wonders how he, with Diagoras of Melos, Theodore of Cyrene, and others, who lived virtuously, and saw farther than other men into the errors concerning the gods, could obtain the name of atheists.† It is not to be denied, also, that many things in heathenism itself favored this view, particularly in its latter form. For the human shape and passions, which were given to the gods, the fables of their birth, the deification of heroes, and afterwards even of common men, like the Ptolemies and Caesars, might well lead a person, if he looked no farther, to refer the whole Pantheon to this origin. But still, the theory was a very uncritical and unhistorical one. For it is contradicted by all the earliest writers, who make a broad distinction between the gods, αἰὲν ἑόντες, and the race of mortals. We may infer, from comparing the *Iliad* with later works, that the worship of demigods was a downward step in the path of paganism, and that of heroes another.‡ Yet the idea of the gods was long kept pretty distinct, by their possession of immortality and occupation of Olympus. Pindar gives the opinion of his time in these words: "The race of men is one, that of gods another. Both draw breath, indeed, from one mother,|| but the possession of

* *De Civ. Dei*, 6, 7.

† *Protrepticon*, p. 20, ed. Potter. The christians were called atheists, as rejecting polytheism, and hence sympathized with the atheistical philosophers.

‡ See *Hesiod's Works and Days*, vv. 124, 174, 254.

|| The gods being descended from *Coelus* and *Terra*.

wholly different power separates between them; for the one is nothing, but the brazen heaven always remains for the other an unfailing abode." But in this poet's time, the worship of heroes or demigods (for in him they are identical) had become prevalent. Such were Castor and Pollux, and especially Hercules. Hence we infer, that Euemerus began at the wrong end of mythology, and that, instead of the divine sliding into the human, as we ascend the stream of time, the idea of the deity was purer at first, and as mythology grew, became degraded. And this is what we should expect. For in proportion as we go back in the history of the Greeks, we find them more highly impressible by the greatness of the operations of nature, and more ready to attribute life to physical causes. But these things involve the recognition of some superior power, either in the form of one God with ministering agents, or in the grosser form of polytheism. So far, the superior powers would be widely distinct from men. But when the propensity to *anthropomorphism** had its perfect work, and the poets had full scope to propagate human fables concerning the gods, then it was, that the line between gods and men became so narrow, that it grew easy to "raise a mortal to the skies."

Now if it has been made out, that Euemerus was the first author of the notion, that the principal gods were deified men, and if this opinion is opposed to the spirit of antiquity and to historical deduction, it will not be pretended to have been taught in the mysteries, unless after the age of this philosopher. But what renders it almost certain, that it was a mere private inference, is, the discrepancy of authors in regard to their meaning. Varro, who was one of the most studious of men, and had doubtless read much on this subject,† says, "*nihil interpretatur nisi quod attinet ad frumentum, quod Ceres invenit, et ad Proserpinam quam, rapiente Orco, perdidit. Et hanc ipsam dicit significare foecunditatem seminum,—dicit deinde multa in mysteriis ejus [Proserpinae] tradi, quae nisi ad frugum inventionem non pertinent.*" Here Varro takes the physical view of the mysteries; and if Proserpine is the germination of the seed, she is not a deceased mortal. But Cicero enters, saying, that he has been initiated, and learned the gods to be but deified men. Up starts Porphyry, with a "strain of a higher mood."—The hierophant is the representative of the

* We mean to include what is technically called "anthropopathism," or the ascription of human passions and propensities.

† Augustin, v. s. 7, 20. There were many books about the mysteries known to the ancients, some, perhaps, revealing what they ought not.

demiurgus of Plato, the torch-bearer of the sun, the sacred herald of Mercury, and other ministers stand for the seven stars. The scene is now carried beyond the visible diurnal sphere, although Ceres and her worship have nothing to do with all this. Thus the witnesses, by their disagreement, show, that they did not see the fact, but only conjectured about it. What Seneca says, in his 88th letter, of different schools of philosophers, who put their various construction upon Homer, may be well applied here: "Apparet nihil horum esse in illo, cui omnia insunt: ista enim inter se dissident."

If we have shown, that the mysteries did not oppose the public faith with regard to the nature of the gods, it is hardly necessary to show, that they did not inculcate the unity of the Godhead. In fact, the mystic fables concerning Ceres and her associates, and their images, which, as we have seen, stood within the temple, will be found, after what we have said above, quite at variance with such a doctrine, and there is, we believe, little, if any argument, that can be adduced in its support.

If we have thus far proceeded upon the right tack, (and we know well, that in such inquiries there is no unerring star to guide us,) we are spared the necessity of examining the theory of Villoison,—that the secret of the mysteries consisted in philosophical views concerning the nature of the gods. This eminent scholar agrees with Warburton, in holding, that the popular deities were deceased mortals, according to the mystical doctrine, and also teaches, that the great secret was none other than the doctrine of the philosophers concerning the emanation of the soul, and its return to the divine mind, with the other tenets of the same system. These views were brought into Greece, he says, by men who were equally the parents of philosophy and of the mysteries, and especially by Pythagoras. We acknowledge the truth of part of this theory: such views arose from philosophers, and were engrafted on the symbols of certain mysteries. But what shall be said of the mysteries, that were long prior to his age, and to the age of philosophical research? What shall be said also of the fables, to which the language of such philosophical speculations is given? Were they coeval with the speculations? If they were, and arose at so late an age, we object not to the theory of Villoison.

The advocates of a foreign origin of Greek civilization, formerly derived the mysteries from Egypt, together with a large part of the mythology; as did the principal Greek writers. But after the Sanscrit language and religion became

known to Europe, a theory arose which derived the mysteries, as well as the public religion, from that quarter. As the evidence in favor of this theory may be brought within a very narrow compass, and as it bears, if admitted, upon the subject of secret doctrine, we shall devote a moment to its examination.

This evidence, then, is nothing more than the following gloss in the lexicon of Hesychius, of which we give only the doubtful words in the original: Κόγξ, ὀμπαξ. ἐπιφώνημα τετελεσμένον; "also the noise made by the vote of the judges, as well as that of the clepsydra." Long since the words which we have given in the Greek, were translated by Le Clerc, who had found that they were Punic, as follows: "watch and abstain from sin." But Wilford, in the *Asiatic Researches*, (5. 297,) makes a more extraordinary discovery. "At the conclusion of the mysteries of Eleusis," says he, "the congregation was dismissed in these words, Κόγξ Ὀμ Παξ. These mysterious words have been hitherto considered as inexplicable; but they are pure Sanscrit, and are used to this day by Brahmins at the conclusion of religious rites. They are written in the language of the gods, as the Hindoos call the language of their sacred books Candscha, Om, Pacsha. Candscha, signifies the object of our most ardent wishes. Om, is the famous monosyllable used both at the beginning and conclusion of a prayer, or any religious rite, like Amen. Pacsha, exactly answers to the obsolete Latin word *vix*: it signifies change, course, stead, place, turn of work, duty, fortune." And our author goes on to assimilate the Sanscrit words more closely to the Greek, by giving us the forms of the vulgar dialect, which are Cansch and Pacsh. Pacsh is uttered at the moment of making libations in honor of the gods, and Pitris or manes, and expresses the sound of the vote because the Judge had deposited it in his turn. This etymology was eagerly embraced by Ouvaroff, Creuzer, Schelling, and others; the first* of whom thus expresses himself: "This beautiful discovery of Wilford's not only fixes the true origin of the mysteries, but enables us to see the intimate and numerous relations which the influence of Eastern modes of thinking have exerted upon the civilization of Europe. It is not necessary here to set forth all the results of the explanation given by Wilford. Every impartial person will behold in the East the cradle of religion, traditions, and philosophic doctrines." And

* Ouvaroff sur les mysteres d'Eleusis, p. 29. Paris, 1816.

so it must follow, that pantheism, or whatever is most Indian, was taught in the mysteries, since Sanscrit was spoken there.

But an etymology is often a weak support for historical deductions. In the first place, it is not very likely, that solemn sounds thus handed down by the mysteries would be used to denote the noise of pebbles or beans poured out of the vase in which the judges at Athens deposited their votes, nor the gurgling sound of the water-clock. Unfortunately also for this explanation, the words are capable of another, not fetched from so far as Hindostan. "The famous monosyllable Om" seems to be nothing more than an abridgment of ὁμοίως, *like-wise*, with which Hesychius often connects together two words of the same import. The dative τετελεσμένοις again may be just as well neuter as masculine; and in that case it means, "when things are through." The solemn formula then will have this sense: "Conx, also Pax; an exclamation at finishing a thing, also expressive of the sound of the judicial votes, and of the clepsydra." This translation is confirmed by another gloss, in which Hesychius gives Pax the meaning of τέλος ἔχει, "it is through." And thus the two words would seem to be nothing more than interjections, like *coax*, *coccu*, and many others in Greek and other languages, and are copies of natural sounds.

We shall close this article with a brief historical view of the principal mysteries, intending thereby to show, that they greatly multiplied with the course of time, and that originally they could have had but little influence upon the character of the Greeks, or of their religion. Whether they existed at all in the days of Homer and Hesiod cannot be determined. The poets make no mention of them, nor indeed do they speak of any secret rites. Yet it would not be fair to infer, that the germ of secret religious worship did not already exist. There are several views of their origin. The most common is that which derives them from abroad, either through foreign colonists, who were desirous to perpetuate their national rites, in such a way as to give them peculiar sanctity and permanence, or through Greeks, who by intercourse with foreigners, had become imbued with the spirit of their religions. Another is that of Wachsmuth,* who conceives them to have arisen in the times after the Doric immigration, when political changes must have pressed together the devotees of certain rites, particularly if these were in danger of being supplanted, and have made them desirous of practicing in secret what no

* Greek Antiq. § 114. This excellent work has been translated into English, but we have only the German.

longer interested the public mind. Lobeck, again, thinks, that they pertained to the worship of tutelary divinities, and ascribes their secrecy to the fear lest the members of another State, on learning the ceremonies, should practice them and forestall the favor of the protecting god. And it was equally necessary to hide such ceremonies from the common eye, that they might not be betrayed to the enemy. Instances of this mystic secrecy may be found in the leaden tablets containing sacred observances, which Pausanias (4. 20, and 26) reports Aristomenes to have hidden in the ground, as being essential to the future welfare of his country. Of like kind was the mystical name of Rome, which was kept secret, that the god, under whose protection it stood, might not be drawn away by the power of augury. And, to mention but one instance more, Herodotus tells us, (6. 134,) that when Miltiades was besieging Paros, a captive woman informed him, that she had been under-priestess of the infernal gods, and if he wished to take the city he must follow her directions. He accordingly went to the temple of Ceres, the legislatress, which stood before the city, leaped the enclosures and entered the shrine, "either to move something which ought not to be moved," or with some other intention. At the door a fright seized him, and he went back by the same way. Here it is evident, that something secret pertaining to the worship of Ceres, was deemed essential to the safety of the Parians.

But whatever was the origin of the mysteries, those of the Eleusis are first mentioned in the Homeric hymn to Ceres—a poem of uncertain age, but probably long posterior to Homer. Here the fable of the goddess searching after her daughter, who had been snatched away by Pluto, and reaching Eleusis on her wanderings, is related at large; but as yet nothing is said of Iacchus, the third in the partnership of the temple. Who Iacchus was is uncertain. His name, which is the same as Bacchus, was also given to a mystic hymn, and comes from a root signifying *to cry* or *shout*.* He is confounded by the best Greek writers with Dionysus, or Bacchus of Thebes. While Eleusis was independent of Athens, which it appears to have been until the time of Solon, the mysteries in so small a State could have excited as little attention, as those in honor of the same goddess in other parts of Greece. Even at the time of the Persian war, we find a Spartan king unacquainted with them; (Herodot. 8. 65;) whence it appears, that up to

* Iacchus is from *λάχω*, (the root being *λά*, voice,) as Evoeus is from *εβοῖ*.

that date, although strangers were then initiated, the mysteries had not taken their prominent rank. In the wars with the Persians, the divinities of the temple were active, according to the popular superstition, in saving the country. Just before the fight of Salamis, while Attica lay desolate, dust was seen proceeding from Eleusis, as much as thirty thousand men would make, and a voice was heard singing the sacred hymn. From the dust and the voice a cloud arose and was wafted to Salamis, to the armament of the Greeks. This striking fable, related by Herodotus, shows, that Ceres and her companions were then important tutelary deities of Athens. They shared the celebrity of the city afterwards; the splendor of the shows, both public and secret, was no doubt increased, and Eleusis became one of the most sacred spots in the heathen world.

The mysteries of Bacchus had also an early origin. By this name, indeed, he is not known before the age of Herodotus; but his name, *Dionysus*, is found in Homer. Yet it is remarkable, that nearly all the passages in Homer where this god is mentioned, were condemned by ancient critics as spurious. His worship seems to have come from Thrace, and to have soon spread far and wide. The institution of his mysteries is referred to Orpheus, a Thracian. Orpheus has a very great name in Greek fable, as poet, priest, physician, and diviner; yet Homer does not once mention him, although there are many places where he might with great propriety be noticed. It is reasonably argued, therefore, that he is a fiction,* or importation of a later age. A multitude of forged poems went in antiquity under the name of Orpheus, the most recent of which Hermann has shown to belong to the fourth century after Christ, while the oldest proceeded chiefly from the Pythagorean school, in the fifth or sixth century before our era. A great part of Lobeck's work is employed in collecting the fragments of Orphic poems from the inferior philosophers. They were a powerful instrument in darkening the shades of heathenism; in making it more superstitious and fanatical. But what is this to Bacchus? our readers will ask, as was asked of old—and we therefore return from our digression with the remark, that what the ancients call the Orphic mysteries, seem to have been private ones of the Bacchic kind. In some of the public mysteries of this god, celebrated every three

* So he is called by the greatest of ancient critics, "Orpheum poetam, docet Aristoteles nunquam fuisse, et hoc Orphicum carmen Pythagorei ferunt cujusdam fuisse Cercopis." Cic. de nat. deor. 1.38. And Herodotus says, "the poets who are said to have existed before these men, [Homer and Hesiod,] lived, it seems, after them." (2.53.)

years, great excesses were committed. Women roamed over Mount Cithaeron, clad in goat-skins and half-frantic, brandishing serpents in their hands, with the Bacchic staff raised aloft, while at night torches blazed over the mountain. With this revelry attributed to the inspiration of the god, no doubt disgusting vice was joined, for reason and shame were thrown aside. Other public mysteries of Bacchus were connected with one of the yearly festivals held in honor of him at Athens. They were celebrated at night, under the direction of the wife of the archon-king, and attended with ceremonies of purification.

Creuzer has much to say (3. 382, seq.) of the high meaning contained in these mysteries. Bacchus was creator of the world, and the soul an emanation from him; being enchained by matter it needs purification, and obtains it by its passage or passages from the body, and is at last absorbed in the soul of the world. Even some of the ceremonies at the public shows had a mystic meaning. Thus the basket in the shape of a corn-fan, the "*mystica vannus Iacchi*," denoted the purification of the soul, as corn is separated by winnowing from the chaff. In support of these views, the testimony almost solely of the later Platonists is brought forward. But if what has been laid down above is true, these interpretations were put upon the ceremonies of Bacchus by these philosophers.

The Phrygian mysteries were brought into Greece at a much later time, and were held in honor of Cybele and Sabazius; the former of whom answers to Rhea and Ceres, and the latter probably to Bacchus. These rites were under the control of private persons, and in great disesteem on account of the excesses to which they led. Yet even these most fanatical and vile rites have had a high meaning attached to them. The priests of Cybele and the initiators into the Orphic mysteries were of the lowest class; the former strolled around like the begging friars; they both drove the trades of juggling and soothsaying, told the superstitious by what modes of cleansing the anger of the gods might be averted, and, as Plato,* speaking of them, says, "how, if they wished to injure an enemy, they might harm him at a small expense, whether he were a good or bad man, the gods being persuaded by certain charms to lend their aid."

We shall pass by the mysteries of the Cabiri, celebrated especially on the islands of Samothrace and Lemnos, because nothing can be affirmed of them, either as to their import, or

* *Repub.* 2, 364, B.

even the deities in whose honor they were held. Thus much may be said, that they were in high repute in the best days of Greece, and that the gods of Samothrace were protectors of distressed mariners. No antiquarian matter, it would seem, is more involved in darkness than this; upon none is it safer to be silent. We envy not, therefore, Faber his book upon the Cabiri, or other more learned men their conjectures.

One would suppose, that we had named mysteries enough already, to satisfy the greatest devotee. But, as the Greeks were spread, by commerce and conquest, and the triumphs of their language, over the world, the impurities of paganism in all its forms were, so to speak, washed together, and flowed on in one channel. Add to this, that it is the tendency of superstition to multiply the number of its rites, and that polytheism knows no limit to its objects of worship. From Thrace, before the era of Alexander, came the secret rites of Cotytto, which were practiced at Athens with foul obscenities. From Syria the Greeks learned the mystic ceremonies of the Syrian Venus, Atergatis, and of Adonis. Isis drew to her mysteries many of those who settled in Egypt, and afterwards spread more or less through the Roman empire. Concerning all these we may say, in the words of De Sacy, that, whatever doctrines were connected with them, "they were never but an accessory object, the rites forming, in truth, the essence of these institutions."

We have now brought down this brief sketch to the beginning of our era, when "THE MYSTERY, that was hid from ages and generations, was made manifest to the saints." But these mysteries were "not spoken in secret, in a dark place of the earth." They contained no hidden doctrine, intrusted to a few; they consisted of no rites or signs, on which philosophers might put their own meaning. For their great Founder came "a light into the world," and could say, "I spake openly to the world; I ever taught in the synagogue and the temple, whither the Jews continually resort, and in secret have I said nothing." Concerning one of his doctrines, the resurrection of quick and dead, his disciple, a true hierophant, could assert: "Behold, I show you a mystery: we shall not all sleep, but we shall all be changed in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye, at the last trump." Truly, "without controversy great is the mystery of godliness."

But the world sought not to become initiated into what an ancient writer calls the greatest and most perfect of mysteries,—those of goodness. Superstition rallied its forces after the coming of Christ, and even succeeded in gaining the aid of

philosophy. From the East were invited the astrologers or Chaldeans, and the rites of Mithras; in which, after passing through many stages of self-mortification and trial, the adept received a sort of baptism, had a mark on his forehead, was regenerated and became a soldier of Mithras. These rites are regarded by the Fathers as imitations of those of christianity. But the beautiful philosophy of Plato, now degenerated also into a pander of superstition. Forming an alliance with Pythagorean notions, it took the new form of Eclecticism or Neo-Platonism, and united the enthusiasm and idealism of Plato with degrading credulity. This credulity was favored by the juggleries of the astrologers and of certain mysteries which seem to have been those of Hecate, by forged oracles and the poems ascribed to Orpheus. An example of extraordinary superstition may be found in the Emperor Julian and in Proclus,* one of the greatest Neo-Platonists who flourished in the 5th century, and whose Life, written by Marinus,† his scholar, is still extant. We there learn, that he night and day used the averting and purifying ceremonies prescribed by Orpheus and the Chaldeans; that he went down once a month to the sea to perform lustrations; that he practiced the rites of all countries besides his own, even to the worshiping of an obscure Arabic god; that he daily prayed to the rising, noon-day, and setting sun; that he made and chanted hymns to the divinities;—in short, he seems to be a compendium of superstition. His works were still more wonderful than his faith. He healed the sick by prayers and hymns, maintained conferences in dreams with Cybele, Aesculapius, and others, caused showers when Athens, where he dwelt, was suffering from drought, by using the magic wheel of Hecate, and even prevented earthquakes. Proclus and his kind were the easy dupes of those who are called "theurgists," the most eminent of whom were two of the name of Julian. These men held the art of evoking the gods, and obtaining responses from them. They are to be regarded as private practitioners of mysteries, which were begun with magic lustrations and incense, with prayers especially to the infernal gods, and the use of the magic wheel. By such practices they availed to darken the sky, and cause the ground to quake; they brought forms of fire before the eyes, and made the voices of gods be heard. "The power of the different kind of mysteries—that of the Bacchus, to purify, that of Mithras, to regenerate—was all," as Lobeck observes,

* His works are published by Cousin and Creuzer.

† Edited by Boissonade, 1814, at Leipsic.

"united in theirs ; they practiced a universal way of freeing the soul, whereby those who partook with due preparation, of their rites, were gradually separated from all the concretion of mortal bodies, became capable of assuming the divine substance, and lastly, of obtaining the highest power over all nature." The theurgists in their mysteries gave a sight of the gods, sometimes in the appearance of shapeless flame, sometimes in human or some other form. Sometimes they made use of "energumeni" or boys inhabited by demons, and at others, drew forth oracles from the mouth of statues. Such were the wonders of the theurgists. Their mysteries are often spoken of by the later writers, as *the* mysteries, and hence, some of their practices have been falsely ascribed to the solemnities of Eleusis.

It was not long after the age of Proclus, that the mysteries were abolished. Though they had spread under various names over the empire ; though they had duped philosophers into the belief of their marvelous efficacy ; though, it may be, philosophers had sought to reform them, by putting into them deep meaning, they could not keep the esteem of men, or sustain the cause of idolatry. The fathers abhorred them, and with reason, on account of the scandalous sights and shows in some of them ; the christian emperors prohibited night-meetings, when they were held ; magic and divination were then forbidden and the temples were demolished, until heathen practices became secret. Probably the private mysteries were exalted in the estimation of the pagans, by the decay of public and open worship.

Carrying this historical view of the mysteries along with what has been said of their meaning, we shall not be led to put a great price upon them, for they prove to be a chaos of ceremonies, arbitrarily explained, and ending in gross superstition. Philosophy would have done better without them ; christianity would very likely have gained an earlier triumph had they not existed. As falsely explained, they insnared men of deep minds, filled them with vain thoughts of an impracticable way of approaching God, and prevented them from seeing the falsehood of heathenism. For how could that be seen in its true shape, which might be put into any form, however dignified, by the art of mystical interpretation ? - Even granting them to be a collection of symbols, they brought no wisdom to the wise ; for he, who could make a moral or religious system out of them, must already have had it in his mind. And to us they seem rather the offspring of the pagan spirit, than the depository of primitive tradition.